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THE
HISTORY
OF
SCOTLAND,

FROM
FEBRUARY 21. 1426, TO MARCH 1565;

IN WHICH ARE CONTAINED,
Accounts of many Remarkable Passages,
altogether differing from other Historians;

AND
Many Facts are Related, either concealed
by some, or omitted by others.

By ROBERT LINDSAY OF PITSCOTTIE.

TO WHICH IS ADDED,
A Continuation by another Hand, till August 1604.

THE THIRD EDITION,
Carefully compared and revised by the first Edition.

WITH A
COMPLETE INDEX,
HISTORICAL, CHRONOLOGICAL, GENEALOGICAL and GEO-
GRAPHICAL, NOT ANNEXED to the two former Editions.

EDINBURGH:
PRINTED FOR CHARLES ELLIOT;
AND THOMAS CADELL, LONDON.

M,DCC,LXXVII.

15

THE
LIST OF

OF
SCOTLAND

FROM
FEBRUARY 1, 1861, TO MARCH 1, 1862



BY ROBERT LINDSAY OF PITSCOTTIE.

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Printed for CHARLES ELIOT
AND THOMAS CAPELL, London.

1862, 1863.

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE
JOHN LINDESAY
EARL OF CRAWFORD AND LINDESAY
LORD LINDESAY OF GLENESK,

A N D

LORD LINDESAY OF THE BYRES, &c.

MY LORD,

AS your ancestors make a very considerable figure in the histories of their country, from the earliest periods that noble families are distinguished from one another by hereditary surnames, and that several of them have had a great share in those public transactions which are the subject of the following history; I thought I could not, in justice to the memory of my author, who had the honour to be a cadet of your family, address his work so properly to any patron as to his own chief.

I shall not here take the liberty to give any account of the conduct of your Lordship's forefathers, lest the relation, though made in the the most impartial manner, should have too much the appearance of panegyric, a subject ever ungrateful to real worth, and shocking to

a modest ear. I shall only beg leave, for the satisfaction of those who read our Scottish History, to give a short account of the rise of those two chief branches of the family of *Lindesay*, viz. The earls of *Crawford*, and lords *Lindesay* of the Byres, without taking any notice of the original source of the family, or of tracing it further back, than to the person of James lord *Lindesay* of *Crawford*, who was the father and founder of those two noble families; both which are now represented in your Lordship.

The lord James was the eldest son and heir of lord James *Lindesay* of *Crawford*, who was one of the small number of those barons, that were determined to risk their lives and fortunes for the honour of their country, and so prefer a life of toil and hazard, to inglorious ease, and unmanly quiet, rather than to submit to that dishonourable surrendry of the independency of the crown to Edward I.

This gentleman, with his brother Robert *Lindesay*, and cousin Roger *Lindesay* (who is said to have been the founder of the family of *Dunroddis*) were amongst the first that joined and confederated themselves with that matchless hero, and miracle of human nature, Sir William Wallace, who was a younger son of Wallace of *Elderslee*, by the heiress of *Lindesay* of *Craigie* (another considerable branch of your family) whose arms are still carried in the achievements of the *Wallaces* of *Craigie*, who have been ever since possessors of the estate.

During

During the course of these wars, those gentlemen, with a great many of their kindred and followers, lost their lives, which they had generously spent, in hazards, toil, and constant alarms, in the glorious cause of liberty: And lord James, of whom I speak, who was the eldest son of lord James that was killed with Wallace, and the heir of the family, continued to tread in those rugged paths of virtue, which his forefathers had, by so many examples, pointed out to him. He was eminently remarkable for all their virtues, especially for those valuable qualities of resolution, steadiness and integrity, peculiar to his family. He was the first man of quality, who, by previous concert, met king Robert I. on his arrival in Anandale, when that prince was determined to take on him the government of his country, and so assert its freedom and independency. He adhered steadily to the interests of his country, under the incomparable administration of this magnanimous prince. He was with him in every action, and had more than an ordinary share of every hazard and fatigue, until he was killed at Stirling-bridge, fighting at the head of a body of troops, that were commanded by that celebrated captain, Thomas Randal earl of Murray, the king's nephew.

This lord James left behind him three sons; David the eldest, who succeeded him in his honours and estate; Alexander lord Lindeſday of Glenesk the second, who married Katharine Stirling heiress of Glenesk; and William lord Lindeſday

say of the Byres the third son, who married Euphame Moor, the only daughter and heiress of Sir William Muir of Abercorn, by whom he got the lordship of Abercorn, and the estate of Dean that was annexed to it.

David, the eldest son, was killed in the battle at Bannockburn, and left behind him only one son, David, who succeeded him in his honours and estate.

Alexander lord of Glenesk, the second son, was, in the minority of king David Bruce, with several hundreds of his followers, and fourscore gentlemen of his name, killed in the battle at Dupline. And William lord of the Byres, the third son, and his nephew lord David * of Crawford, were both killed in the battle at Halidon-hill.

Lord David of Crawford, dying without male issue of his own body, was succeeded by his cousin-german, David lord Lindefay of Glenesk, the eldest son of lord Alexander who was killed at Dupline, not only in his honours and paternal estate, but likewise in all those extensive acquisitions,

* There is a charter granted by *David Dominus Lindefay de Crawford*, designed *Filius Davidis filii quondam Jacobi*, of the lands of Gilmertoun in East-Lothian, in favours of William lord Lindefay of the Byres, his uncle, and the lawful heirs male of his body; and failing of them to Alexander lord Lindefay of Glenesk, his other uncle, and the lawful heirs male of his body; and failing of both, to return to the granter, and to his heirs male whatsoever.

quisitions, which had been granted to the family upon the forfeiture of the great John Cuming of Badenach, whom his grandfather, lord James, killed in the church of Dumfries; viz. The lordship of Badenach, Lochaber, Stradown, or Strathown, Glenlevit, and Brae of Murray.

From this period, the male descendants of these two brothers, lord Alexander of Glenesk, and lord William of the Byres, continued in two distinct families; the first, under the title of earls of Crawford, and the other by the title of lords Lindeſay of the Byres; until the reign of king Charles I. when they were again united in the person of your lordship's great grandfather, John earl of Lindeſay, in this manner.

David Lindeſay, earl of Crawford, did, in the minority of king James VI. enter into a contract of tailie with Robert lord Lindeſay of the Byres, your lordship's greatgrandfather's father, whereby they mutually provided their ſeveral dignities and eſtates to each other, upon the failure of their nearer male iſſue, reſpectively.

This earl David was ſucceeded by his eldeſt ſon David, who, dying without lawful heirs male of his own body, was ſucceeded by his brother Sir Harry Lindeſay of Carreſton, and he was ſucceeded by his only ſon earl Ludovick, who entered into a ſecond contract of tailie with John earl of Lindeſay, your great grandfather, who was the eldeſt ſon of lord Robert the firſt contractor. By this ſecond deed of entail, all the articles, conditions and proviſions, upon the ſeveral events mentioned in the firſt tailie,

tailie, were ratified, and of new stipulated and confirmed; and, in consequence of it, a resignation was made in the hands of the crown, which was accepted of, and the deed was confirmed by the king, and afterwards ratified by an act of parliament.

After the death of earl Ludovick, who was killed in the wars of Germany, unmarried, and of Alexander lord Lindefay of Spinzie, his nearest heir male, who likewise died without male issue, John earl of Lindefay succeeded to the earldom of Crawford, and lordship of Glenesk, &c.

Having thus, for the satisfaction of my readers of the following history, taken the freedom with your Lordship to give this short account of the succession of the lordship and earldom of Crawford, upon the failure of the male issue of lord David, who was the eldest son of lord James who was killed upon Stirling-bridge, to the male issue of lord Alexander of Glenesk, his second son; and thereafter, upon the like event, to the male issue of lord William of the Byres, his third son, in whom the dignities of all the three brothers are now represented by your Lordship: I hope I shall be excused, if I likewise take the liberty to observe to your Lordship, that altho' nobility, by birth, and a descent from a long and numerous race of illustrious men, is attended with many advantages, that, nevertheless, *Virtus est sola & unica nobilitas.*

Personal worth is, without doubt, the best title to nobility; and the surest mark of the genuine

naïve issue of a noble family is, when the heir of it inherits the virtues as well as the honours, name and titles of the family; and that the same good qualities, the same active genius and virtuous disposition, the same abilities for counsel and action both in body and mind, and the same mildness of temper and humanity, that were remarkable enough in the fathers to raise them to the dignity of nobility, are no less so in the son who inherits it. Every such person is an ornament to a noble family, who, by adding of fresh lustre to it, very much heightens and increases its reputation, and endears it to his country, by adding to the number of those worthies of his family, who have deserved well of their country.

Est in juvenis,

Est in equis, patrum virtus;

Nec imbellem feroces

Progenerent aquila columbam.

HOR. on this subject.

A noble descent is certainly a great spur to virtue, and rarely fails to beget, in a generous breast, a noble emulation to equal the great deeds of those, to whose merit one owes his nobility: But should the representative of a noble family bury those great and good qualities in sloth and luxury, that ought to be employed in the public service; or should he, by remarkable weakness and insufficiency, or by a depraved disposition to vice or folly, give the world just ground

ground to suspect him as spurious, so unworthy a conduct would, most certainly, forfeit in him all that reputation, honour and esteem, in the opinion of mankind, which his fathers had acquired; and that voluntary tribute of praise, good-will, reverence and respect, would be no longer paid him, than the cause subsisted which at first procured it. To such may be justly objected, that expression in the declamation said to have been made by Cicero against Salust, *Tu tuis vita tua quam turpiter egisti, magnas offudisti tenebras.*

My Lord,

Those natural endowments, which qualify a person for great and laudable undertakings, and make one useful and agreeable to society, were so early apparent in your Lordship, that none, who knew you, doubted of your becoming every way equal, and worthy to represent so many men of worth. You have likewise adorned those great and good qualities, which you seem to inherit by generation from them, with all the acquired accomplishments that are proper for one of your rank; and have already, on every proper occasion, sufficiently vouched this to the world: But these instances I forbear to mention, or to take any notice of the opinion which those, who are honoured with an intimate and particular acquaintance with you, entertain of you, lest I should offend your modesty. But I may adventure to say, that, as you are now entering upon

upon the scene of action in life, if you continue to follow the example of your ancestors, and to improve and employ your natural talents, as they did, your country cannot be disappointed of the great and favourable hopes which they have conceived of you.

Your fathers, my Lord, by their great and signal services to their country, became the eminent and remarkable objects of public favour. By these honourable means did they, many ages ago, acquire great and extensive possessions, both of wealth and power, and arrive at the highest pitch of dignity, and titles of honour then known in Europe. They have since, by the calamities of civil war, at the time of the reformation, and in the reigns of king Charles I. and II. wasted those estates and extensive vassalages, in the very same way, and by the very same means, by which they were acquired, in the defence of public liberty : But if your Lordship steadily pursue the same noble ends, and follow the same virtuous and laudable courses with them, so as to deserve as well of the public as they have done, events may happen to give you an opportunity to regain, by fair and honourable means, what they have so honourably lost. Then shall your country have the satisfaction to see your family restored to its ancient lustre, and to the same flourishing state and condition, in which it continued for so many ages.

For my own part, my Lord, I beg leave to assure your Lordship, that nothing could give me
greater

greater joy, than to share with your friends, the pleasure of seeing your Lordship make as great a figure in the world, as any of your predecessors have done; of whom so many have been justly ranked in that high class of heroes, who are, with truth, said to be (in subordination to the regal power) the guardians of their country, and protectors of its liberties. I am,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's most obedient,

and most humble Servant,

ROBERT FREEBAIN.

THE MOST REVEREND FATHER IN GOD,

ROBERT STUART

BISHOP OF CAITHNESS, AND COM-

MENDATAR OF ST. ANDREWS, AND

PRIORY THEREOF.

O Little book, pass thou with diligence
To St. Andrews that fair city;
Salute that lord with humble reverence,
Beseeeking him of fatherly pity,
With intire heart and perfect charity;
And that he would on noways offend
To look on thee one day or two to spend:

And there show him thy secrets more and less,
From the beginning unto the end:
And also you to come utter and expresse
Show him the verity, and make it to him kend,
The martial deeds, and also the fatal end
Of his noble dainty progenitor,
In Scotland lived sometime in great honour.

Show him the great conspiracy
That hath been in this realm of old;
And also the wicked tyranny
Of false traitors that were both stout and bold,
That to their princes would neither obey nor sold;
Nor never would an ear unto the commonweal,
But ever in ways running headlong to the devil.

Show

Show him here the five kings of the Stuarts,
 How long they ragn in this region,
 And what at last was their reward.
 I pray thee shew him and make mention
 What trouble, what cumber and what dissention
 Fell in this country by lords three,
 Daily striving for the authority.

When James the Second, that potent prince,
 was young,
 There was none so good to have the authority,
 As was Sir Alexander Livingston,
 Of good wit and recent memory :
 Therefore the council thought him most worthy
 To have in Scotland the government,
 Whereat the Douglas and Crichton were not
 content,

Whilk in this realm made great diversity,
 As afterward this book will show you plain ;
 For there was never perfect stability,
 Whill that the Douglas was perished, dead and
 gone.
 Then the Crichton ruled all alone ;
 Yet in this realm was much misery,
 While that the king received his own authority.

Declare you him and utter and expresse
 How the earl of Crawford made a band
 With William the great earl of Douglas.
 Thir two lords oppressed all the land.
 But frae time the king did understand,
 Caused bring this earl to Stirling quietly,
 Who in the castle was murdered cruelly,

Syne after this the king did leave in rest,
 And brought his realm to great tranquillity,
 And

And the poor they were no more oppressd,
 For they had justice but partiality,
 Which caused them to live in unity :
 And fraetime these great men were thus corrected,
 To ways this realm was no more subjected.

But ever, alas ! this roy of great renown,
 When he had brought his realm to great stability,
 East, west, south, north, up and down
 There was nothing but peace and unity ;
 Yet came there a chance most suddenly.
 This potent prince, this roy of great renown,
 Was murdered by a misfortunate gun.

Show him that how king James the Third,
 A prince of great facility,
 After that his father was gone and dead,
 Was delivered to bishop James Kennedy,
 And that by advice of the whole nobility,
 To learn letters, and make him able at all
 To guide his royal seat imperial.

To whom this noble bishop did his cure,
 To bring this noble prince to virtue and science :
 But ever, alas ! he did not long endure,
 As this book doth show the circumstance :
 For soon there fell a great variance,
 By a new courtier that ruled so the rudder,
 That caused the king to discord with his brother.

This courtier, to wit, was called Cochran,
 Who ruled king and court then as he pleased,
 For their was never lord, earl, or great man,
 That time in the court, might be eased,
 He held the potent prince so inclosed,

That

That he gart have at his brether such mortall
fead.

That he slew the duke, and put the earl to dead.

Notwithstanding this Cochran with his com-
pany,

Within short time, got their wareison,
On Lawder-bridge were hanged shamefully.
Their king was taken and put in subjection,
And on his servants was made correction,
And that by the whole council of the nobility:
But hastily there arose a great conspiracy,

That this noble king was piteously put down
At Bannockburn, as you shall hear tell,
By the crooked Hume and the glyed Hepburn,
Who against the king did all rebel.
Syne afterward how it befel,
How James the Fourth, that most prudent king,
In Scotland received the whole governing,

And guided the same in welfare and peace
Many a day, as after you shall hear;
Whill, at the last, Floudown-field, alas!
Dewarred him with his nobles in fear,
All his true lords and he were brought in beir
By his own wilful misgovernance,
And love he bare to the realm of France.

Then James the Fifth being of tender age,
There ragn into this realm great milery:
But new rulers ruling in a rage,
Daily striving for the authority,
Some time the queen, some time the duke of
Albany.

Syne start up a presumptuous man among us,
Who was called Archibald earl of Angus.

Then

Then the king took his own authority,
 And ruled his realm as he thought expedient,
 Living in pleasure and great felicity,
 But daily his body he did mispend ;
 Whereof his lords were noways content,
 Alledging his whoredom and harlotry
 Would bring him soon to death and misery.

Which was, at last, as clearly you may see,
 As in this book maketh mention ;
 And also of the woful misery,
 And cruel fead and dissention
 That fell hastily into this region,
 By England, through breaking of the peace,
 Whilk gart Scotland oftimes say, Alas !

For the great blood was shed at Pinkie-field,
 By the governor his wilful misgovernance,
 Where many nobles were slain with spear and
 shield,
 By pride, and by their own negligence,
 And not by the virtue of the English ordnance ;
 But, by the governor's intoxicate council,
 Thir noblemen in field were perish'd all.

Then show you him how queen regent
 Rest from the duke the authority ;
 Whereof many of Scotland were not content,
 Knowing of women the faculty,
 That they are not constant in their quality :
 Therefore they are not able to rule a region,
 Nor of a country to have dominion.

Then last of all, show him, by enarration,
 All things done since the fifty eight year ;
 And specially the reformation,
 And every thing show him in order clear,

Beseeking

Beseeking him patiently thee to hear :
 And where he finds in thee false enarration,
 Beseeking his lordship on thee to make correction.

When he hath done, fast thy voyage bend
 To Athole that most high country,
 And to that lord heartly you commend,
 Salute his lordship with all humility,
 Beseeking him of his benignity,
 That of thy fame nothing as yet be sprung:
 Into the country, while that the king is young;

Because thou mells with the authority,
 At this time who has it now in hand:
 And also declares of that clan the verity:
 Therefore I would they did not understand
 That thou has ta'en such high matters in hand.
 To this good lord give thy whole credence,
 When he thinks time thy matter to advance.

THE

I N D E X.

A

ABBOTSHALL (laird of) one of the leaders of the first tumults of the reformers 315, 319.

ABERBROTHOCK (battle of) *anno* 1445, 36.

ABERCORN besieged and taken 87.

ABERDEEN (bishop of) sent ambassador to England 231, 232.

ADMIRAL (the earl of Arran constituted) and lord Fleming vice admiral 171. (Lord Maxwell appointed) 249.

AIR, earl of Arran arrives at, instead of sailing to France 172.

ALBANY, (duke of) second son of James V. dies at Stirling 261.

(Alexander duke of, and earl of March) taken by the English in his voyage to France, but delivered up at bishop Kennedy's desire 110. Wife, hardy and manly, beloved by the lords and barons of Scotland, prevents insurrections against the king 114, 115. Chosen captain of Berwick 115. Uptakes the duties and profits of the earldom of March, &c. at his pleasure 116. A malicious suspicion conceived by the king of being murdered by him 117, 118. Receives letters at Berwick from his brother James III. to request support from Edward 127. Goes to London, returns with 10 000 men under duke of Gloucester in defence of king of Scotland 128. On 20th Aug. 1482 encamps on the Burrow-muir, enters Edinburgh with Gloucester 129. Goes to the castle with 2 heralds, releases his brother the king, resides with him at Holyrood house 130. Marries the earl of Orkney's daughter, parts with her, passes to France, marries the

the dukes of Bullon, hated by many of the lords, who impose on the king that he aspired to the crown 131. Summoned, appears before the king and council, convicted and sent prisoner to the castle of Edinburgh 132. By a curious device with his servant, makes his escape, gets on board a French ship, lands in France 133, 134. Dukes of Bullon bears him a son 135. Told where James IV. was yearred, but neglects to search the place 183. Recalled, returns with 500 men to Scotland 10th May 1515. Received by parliament in July, governor of the kingdom 192, 193. Passes through Scotland 194. Applies to the French king for supplies 195. These arrive, some of which are destroyed 196. At the request of Henry king of England, kindly receives the earl of Angus 199. Sets out for France on the king's letters *ib.* Represents the state of Scotland, obtains assistance of 3000 men, returns to do justice 202. Builds a storehouse, inch, fortifies the block house at Dunbar 203. Settles the realm and returns again to France 204.

ALLAN (clan) their chief is Randal earl of Murray 41
ALLARDES (laird of) *vide* Lindsay (lord)

AMBASSADORS to Scotland from the rebel lords in England 93. Their speech 94. From the duke of York, unsatisfactory to king James II. 101. Sent to France for supply by the governor Arran 290. From the English to the governor Arran 301.

ANGUS (earl of) gets the lords released 132.

— (earl of) marries Margaret queen of James IV. 186. Privately goes to France 197. Returns to England 198. In great power, and gets the management of the kingdom 204. With his kin the Douglasses, oppresses and rule every where 209. Under pain of treason with his brethren George and Archibald Douglasses, and their kin not to approach the king within 6 miles 220. The king vows revenge against him, he is put to the horn and banished 221. Unable to assist the captain of Tartallowan, this castle given up to the king 224. In

1528, his lands forfeited and annexed to the crown 225.

ANNEXATION of lands by forfeiture to the crown patrimony 262.

APPARITION in Linlithgow-kirk while the king was at his prayers 172.

ARCHERY (a match at) between the Scots and English at St. Andrews, wherein the Scots were victors 229.

ARMOUR of the Highlandmen, two handed swords 269.

ARMS (book of) the earl of Crawford scraped out of it for treason 70.

ARMSTRONG John, laird of Kilknocky, his retinue of waiting on king James V. his conversation, is hanged 226.

ARNOT (David) of that ilk, an excellent archer 230.

ARRAN (James Hamilton earl of) appointed governor and protector in Q. Mary's minority 280. Comes to Glasgow 8th March 1544. Sieges the castle 10 days, is yielded 284. Raises an army to oppose the English at Coldingham 285. Thanks the Douglasses for their bravery at Ancram 289, 290. Terms of accomodation before the battle of Musselburgh, offered him, but rejected 301. Resigns his governorship, made by the king of France duke of Chattelroy 310. Solicited by the queen dowager to oppose the congregation 316, 317. His life in danger by the house of Guise, returns to France, thereafter joins the congregation 324.

ATHOLE (John earl of) married to Beatrix Douglas the maiden of Galloway 90. Entertains king James V. 227.

AUCHINLECK (James) slain by Sir Rich. Colvil 53. His death revenged *ibid.*

AUCHINLECK (Sir John) being accessory to the murder of cardinal Beaton, fortifies the castle of St. Andrews against the governor and queen 298.

AUSTRIA (duke of) married —, 4th daughter of king James I. she married afterwards — 38.

BAILIE

- BAILIE** (Alex.) a piper, an excellent archer 230.
- BAIRN**, a strange one with two heads and two bodies joined by the back, well educated in languages and music, lives 28 years 160, 161.
- BALVENY** (John lord of) summoned by the king, and ordered to restore what had been taken by earl Douglas, not complied with 55.
- BANQUET** given by Bishop Foreman to the Pope, his droll grace to it, 166.
- BARBER** (David) killed in a scuffle with the French soldiers on the street of Edinburgh 308.
- BARCLAY** (Alex.) of Gartlay slain near Aberbrothock *anno* 1445, 36.
- (Sir David) of Cullearny, sent ambassador to England 231.
- BARTYNE** (captain) refused to go out to fight capt. Wood 147.
- (Robert) master skipper of the great Michael 168.
- BASTIO**, a French captain, killed by lord Lindsay with a broad sword, cloven through the brain-pan 325.
- BATTLE** of Aberbrothoc *anno* 1445, 36. Between the earl of Angus and the earl of Northumberland, with whom was the forfeited James earl of Douglas, in which the English were defeated 91. Of Ancram-muir 289. In Annandale, and defeat of the rebel earl of Douglas and his English auxiliaries 87. Of Bannockburn, foughten June 18. *anno* 1488, 144. Of Brechin, between the earls of Huntley and Crawford, where Huntley prevails 67. Of Corrichie 334. Of Crabstane 338. Of Darnelinvir, between the earl of Angus and the laird of Buccleugh 211. In Edinburgh-street 188. Of Floudon 182. Of Glenlivet 340. Near Jedburgh, wherein the English were defeated 265. Of Inchmarine 16. Of Kirkpatrick 36. Of Lestalrig 328. Of Linlithgow-bridge, between the earls of Lennox and Angus 214. Of Mulsleburgh 303. Of St. Ninians-muir 307. Of Parton-craigs 306. Between

between Sir William Ruthven and John Gormack 30.
Of Sark 48. At sea, wherein the English are de-
feated near Dunbar 155. At sea, near Dundee,
wherein the English are defeated 158. Of Solway-
moss 274. Between Alex. Stewart and Sir Tho.
Boyd 12. Of the Torwood 141, 143. Of Tullie-
angus 338

BEATON (Archibald) a confidant of the governor
Arran 301.

—— (cardinal David) sent ambassador to France
236, 248, 249. Causes king James V. subscribe a
will 275. Stirs up the clergy and lords to oppose
Henry VIII. 280. Courts the queen-dowager and
her friends for the government of the kingdom *ibid.*
Imprisoned 281. He escapes 282. Schemes to de-
ceive earl Lennox 283. Misleads the governor,
that the English destroy Merse and Teviotdale 285.
Is called liar in the queen's presence, and receives
a box on the ear by Mons. de Lorge 291, 292.
Marries his daughter to the master of Crawford
292. Caused hang four honest men for eating a
goose on Friday, and drowned a young woman be-
cause she refused to pray to our lady in her birth 293.
Murdered in the castle of St. Andrews 298.

—— (James) made abbot of Melrose 194.

—— (James, bishop of St. Andrews) against the
earl of Angus 186. Wears a coat of mail below his
gown 187. Desired by Mr Gavin Douglas to
compose the quarrel between the earls of Arran
and Angus 187, 188. Agrees with John Hep-
burn for his vicarship of St. Andrews 203. Made
joint regent of Scotland 204. Chosen one of the
governors of king James V. 205. Lived in the house
that he built in the Frier-wynd *ibid.* Consulted by
king James V. how he might be quit of the earl of
Angus 211. Counsels the king to agree with earl
Lennox 212. Absconds 216. Keeps sheep in dis-
guise for fear of the Douglasses *ibid.* 217. Found
out, and is reconciled to the Douglasses *ibid.*

BELL (Andrew) the king's shepherd 237.

BERWICK

BERWICK delivered to the Scots by king Henry VI. 108.
 Agreed to be delivered to the English for their help
 to release king James III. 128.

BORDERERS raise disturbances 262. James V. after
 dantoning the Highlands, intends establishing peace
 there, charging the chiefs in ward 237.

BORTHWICK (Robert) master gunner 174. Requests
 to shoot the artillery at the English army as they
 pass the bridge of Till, but refused by the king
 181.

Boss, in one, intelligence conveyed to the duke of
 Albany 132.

BOSWELL of Balmuto takes the queen's side against
 the congregation 326.

BOTHWELL, his person described, a suitor of the
 queen mother 283. Takes the laird of Ormiston,
 wounds and robs him 324.

—— (Earl of) in 1562, comes to Falkland to
 seize or poison the queen 332. Returns from
 France, received into favour by king and queen 336.

BOWES (lord) and his brother, leaders in the English
 army 264. They are taken prisoners 265. Ta-
 ken prisoner at the battle of Ancram-muir 289.

Bows and arrows used by the Highlandmen at the
 battle of Bannockburn 141.

BOYD (Robert) of Duchal, governor of Dumbarton-
 castle, slew James Stewart of Auchmynto near
 Kirkpatrick 36.

BOYD (Sir Thomas) kills Allan Stuart lord Darnly
 at Powmathron, i. e. *Powmont* near Falkirk 12.

BRETAGN (duke of) married Eleonora, 2d daughter
 of king James I. 38.

BRICE (Peter) sent from the king of France with
 aid to king Henry VI. 108. He takes Alnwick
 castle, and was besieged therein by the English,
 the earl of Angus relieves him 109.

BROUGHTY castle besieged three months 306.

BRUCE (Robert) gives the earldom of Moray to Sir
 Thomas Randall 41.

—— (Sir Robert) of Clackmannan 39.

BUCCLEUGH raises his clan 210. Has a battle with
 earl

earl Angus at Darnelinvir, put to flight with great loss 211.

BUCHAN (master of) slain at the battle of Mulsleburgh 304.

BUCKINGHAM (duke of) 100.

BULL (the head of a) presented at table before any person, was a sign of condemnation to death 28.

— (Steven) defeated at sea by Sir And. Wood 158.

BURGE in Berry, a bishopric worth 400 tun of wine, 10,000 franks of gold, &c. given to bishop Foreman 166.

BURNING of Alnwick by Sir Geo. Douglas, brother of the earl of Douglas 40. Of the town of Dalkeith, by the earl of Douglas's men 66. Of Dumfries 40. And of Dunbar both by the English *ibid*. Of Edinburgh, Craigmillar, Leith, and villages adjacent to Edinburgh 281. And slaying by the English in Scotland 47. Of the town of Forres by the earl of Huntley 69. Of Haddington by the English 308. Of Melrose by the English 288. Of the kirk of Moneward, wherein was six-score of Murrays 162. And herrying by the Scots in England 40. And slaying by the Scots in England 47. Of the town of Stirling by the earl of Douglas's men 66. Of the earl of Huntley's lands in Strathbogie, by the earl of Murray 69.

CALDER (knights of) Urquhart, Campbell, Forrester, and Lawder, accompany the earl of Douglas to Rome 54.

CAMERON (John) bp. of Glasgow, a dismal account of him 44.

CAMPBELL, *vide* Calder.

— (Alex.) a black frier, the accuser of Patrick Hamilton abbot of Fern 206. The frier's death 209.

— (Duncan) of Calder, slain near Aberbrothock *anno* 1445, 36.

— earl of Argyle, *vide* Douglas earl of Angus, chosen one of the governors of king James V.

205. Accompanies king James V. to France 238.
 Was present at the death of king James V. 276, 282.
 Commands the right wing of the Scots army at the
 battle of Pinky 301. Chosen by the queen regent to
 treat with the reformers 317. He joins them 318.
 Put to the horn for opposing the queen's marriage
 335. Flies to England 336.
- CAMPBELL (Sir John) of Loudon, sent ambassador to
 the emperor 238.
- CAMPVERE (lord of) married ——— 3d daughter of
 king James I. she married afterwards ——— 38.
- CANNIBALS in Angus 104.
- CANNONS (seven) called the Seven Sisters, carried to
 the battle of Flowdon 174.
- CARALE, *i. e.* *Crail*, all the images and altars destroy-
 ed there 318.
- CARMICHAEL (Peter) bailie of Abernethy 219.
 ——— (Peter) stabbed cardinal Beaton in his
 chamber in St. Andrews 298.
- CASTLES of Edinburgh, Dumbar, Dumbarton, Stir-
 ling, and Blacknells, garnished with artillery and
 stores 329.
- CESSFORD (laird of) killed at the battle of Darnelin-
 vir, by an Elliot 211.
- CHAIN of iron worn by king James IV. 149.
- CHAPMAN (William) killed in a scuffle with the
 French soldiers on the street of Edinburgh 308.
- CHARLES duke of Albany, 2d son of James VI. cre-
 ated duke of York 360.
- CHIRNSIDE laird of Nisbet, with others, murder the
 prior of Coldingham 203.
- Clean the Causeway*, a skirmish in Edinburgh, where
 Sir Patrick Hamilton, the master of Montgomery,
 and 72 more were slain in May anno 1512, 188.
- CLIBSCH (the squire of) clad like the king at the bat-
 tle of Flowdon 184.
- CLERGY tax themselves to deliver 30,000 pounds to
 the king yearly 255. Propose to persecute the re-
 formed, and offer 100,000 pounds yearly rent, if a
 temporal judge is given them to that effect 256.
- CLIFFORD (earl of) 100.

CLOKEHEWIS (Sir John) a Dutch knight comes to Scotland to fight in single combat 161. He is defeated by Sir Patrick Hamilton, brother of the earl of Arran *ibid.*

COCHRAN, a favourite with king James III. 116. Schemes the ruin of duke Albany and his brother 117, 118. He causes a witch to prophecy the sudden death of the king 117. Made earl of Mar 119. His flattering influence over the king 119, 120. He strikes money of his own, called *Cochran's plack* 120. Character of him *ibid.* He commands the artillery 122. He was originally a mason 123. He comes to the lords in the kirk of Lawder *ibid.* Description of his attire and company 123, 124. Knocks rudely at the kirk-door of Lawder, brought in by force 124. Hanged over the bridge of that town in an hair teather 125. The king made him his master mason *ibid.*

COINAGE of the silver vessels and rings by the reformers 324.

COINS, Cochran's-plack 120. Douglas's-groat 206. Proposed to bear the Scots and French arms quartered 311. A coinage proposed by the congregation 324.

COLDINGHAME (prior of) murdered 203.

COLDINGHAM priory, intended to be given to the chapel royal of Stirling-castle, opposed by Andrew Hume of Fast-castle 137.

COLLEGE of Glasgow founded and erected *anno* 1454, 80.

COLOSS (John) of Bonnymoon, in the earl of Crawford's rebellious army, at the battle of Brechin, withdraws himself with 300 men, which gave the victory to the earl of Huntley 68.

COLQUHOUN (John) of Luss, raised a company of men to resist two notable thieves and murderers, Lauchlan MacLean or MacLeod, and Murdoch Gibson, who had invaded the Lennox from the western isles, but was defeated and slain by them beside Inchmerine 16.

- COLVIL** (Sir Richard) slew James Auchinleck, a friend of the earl of Douglas 53. His death *ibid*.
- COMBATS** before the king between Drumlanrick and the laird of Hempsfield and others—between William Kirkaldie of Grange, and lord Ivers 314
- COMET** *anno* 1460, 104.
- COMMISSIONS**, three granted at Stirling 338.
- CONGREGATION** rise in arms against queen Mary 319. Their agreement with the queen 322. Resolve to coin money, but the stamps being stolen, borrow to pay their army 324. Desert Edinburgh and retire 325.
- CONSTANTINOPLE** taken by the Turks, and great slaughter of Christians 80.
- CONSPIRACY** of the west country lords against the duke of Albany 195
- CONVENTION** to appear at Edinburgh 197. Of the lords at Stirling, July 2. *anno* 1527, 220. At Falaw, October 2. 154, . . . 269. At Lawder-kirk 270.
- CONVENTION** of estates held at Edinburgh the 10th of February 1543, 280.
- CONVENTION** of the lords at Edinburgh, where the cardinal's death was plotted 293.
- COPENHAGEN**, account of the ambassadors passage thro' it and other parts of Germany to Denmark, with other particulars 362, 367.
- CORB**, (3 quarters of) about earl Glencairne's neck, used by him as a token of his adherence and resolution 317.
- COUNCIL** of the clergy at Edinburgh 292
- CRAFTSMEN** of every kind brought from abroad to Scotland 238.
- CRAIGMILLAR** castle burnt 281.
- CRAWFORD** (earl of) with a few folks, poorly drest, on his knees makes a long speech to the king, asks remission 73,—78. Convoys king James II. thro' the north, and on their return, entertains him at Finhaven 79. Dies of a fever *anno* 1454, and buried in the Greyfriars of Dundee 80.
- ALEXANDER** (earl of) dies 91.
- CREIGHTON** of Frendraught 42.

CREIGHTON (Geo.) made earl of Caithness 80. Died between the years 1455 and 1460, 90.

———— (James) made earl of Murray, which he resigns for the earldom of Caithness, to his son George 80.

———— (William) lord Sanquhar, slain by lord Semple 309.

———— (Sir William) appointed chancellor. 4. Exercises his office with rigor 5. Reconciled to the governor 11. Surprises king James II. hunting near Stirling castle, and carries him to Edinburgh 18. Resigns the office of chancellor, and fortifies the castle of Edinburgh 32. His castle of Creighton yeilded to the kings forces, and razed. He raises an army of his friends, and burnt the lands of Corstorphin, and the earl of Douglas's lands 34. Besieged in Edinburgh castle by the king and earl of Douglas. Surrenders on being received into favour. Is again made chancellor at the parliament of Perth 37. Is sent to spouse Margaret, daughter of the duke of Gueldre, to king James II. 38. *Vide* Sinclair, earl of Orkney. The earl of Douglas attempts to assassinate him 59. Persuades the earl of Crawford to seek mercy for his rebellion 78. Is restored to the earldom of Moray 80. Died between the years 1455 and 1460, 90.

CROMWELL (Sir Oliver) entertains king James VI. very magnificently 351.

CROSS (red) worn by the subjects of Scotland, when subdued by the English 285, 290.

CULLEN (captain) sent by the queen, to support the French in Fife 327.

CUNNINGHAM earl of Glencairn, assists the earl of Lennox with his vassals, to procure him the marriage of the queen dowager 283. Protested against the privileges claimed by the French 311. Joins the reformers 317. Forfeited by the regent duke, reconciled to him 324.

CUNNINGHAM lord Kilmaurs, slaughter between him and the master of Semple 204.

CURRY (Sir Hugh) and Sir George Strachan priests, seize Walter Mill for heresy 311

D

DACRES (lord) Marshall of the English army, at the battle of Flowden 178.

DARNLY, Hales, Lyle and Lorn made lords and barons of parliament 81

—(lord) married to queen Mary 335. Murdered in the kirk of Field, 10th Feb. 1567, 337.

(Dean Tho. Forrest, a canon of St. Colme's-Inch, i. e. Inch-Colme, vicar of Dollour, now Dollar, hard by cattle Campbell, at the foot of the Ochill hills. N. B. For this man's name, see Fox's martyrology, vol. 2d. p. 614. folio, London 1641.

DEARTH of victuals in Scotland *anno* 1439, 16. By reason of winds 340

DELABATIE (Monf.) made regent of Scotland 199. Is slain 201.

DENMARK, (prince of) his solemn christening 360.

DESSE (Monf.) commander of the French auxiliaries 307

DELOUR (vicar of) accused of heresy 234. And burnt 236

DONALD earl of Ross, *vide* Donald (lord) of the isles.

DONALD lord of the isles, entertains the rebel earl of Douglas 88. Fond of mischief, cruelty, and wickedness, through the empiety of his own ingine *ibid.* His wife craves the king's protection, and obtains it 90. Sent for a remission of all offences to the king 92. Comes with his Highlanders to the siege of Roxburgh castle 102.

D'OSSEL ambassador sent from France 309. Demands the regalia of Scotland to be sent to France, the French and Scots arms to be quartered, both refused 311.

DOUGLAS earl of Angus, and Sir John Douglas of Dalkeith, set themselves against the marriage of William 8th earl of Douglas, with the fair maid of Galloway 30. Warden of the borders, made lieutenant by the queen and council 107. He raises the

the siege of Alnwick castle 109. Principal of the council, lord Evandale chancellor, the earls of Argyle, Huntley, Orkney, Crawford and Bothwell, the lords Hume, Fleming, Gray, Drummond and Seton, with certain bishops, are appointed to seize the king and carry him to Edinburgh castle, and to hang his servants over the bridge of Lawder 123. Pulls the gold chain from Cochran earl of Mar's neck 124. Marries queen Margaret 186. Defeats the Hamiltons on the street of Edinburgh 188. Grows insolent 189. Meets with the conspirators against the duke of Albany at Glasgow 195. Goes secretly to France 197. Flies from France to England 198. Returns to Scotland and is pardoned 199. The queen his wife parted from him 205. Chosen one of the governors of king James V. *ibid.* He disputes with the other lords for the disposal of vacant benefices *ibid.* Made lieutenant *ibid.* Defeats the laird of Buccleugh, who came with his friends to relieve the king 211. Never failed in respect to the king's person 216. He and his friends put to the horn and banished 221. And forfeited in parliament 225. He and George his brother are leaders in the English army 264. Returns from England after fifteen years banishment 280. Assists the earl of Lennox with his vassals, to procure him the marriage of the queen dowager 283, 284. His noble speech to the governor Arran 287. Attends the governor Arran to the siege of Coldingham 285. And brings off the queen's cannon to Dunbar 286. Leads the van of the Scots army to the battle of Pinky 300.

DOUGLAS (Archibald) brother of William earl of Murray, by the earl's interest got the ward and marriage of Annes Dunbar, youngest daughter of James last earl of Murray, and became earl of Murray 40. Made treasurer of Scotland 205, 217, 223.

— lord Balveny 41. Appointed overseer of the earl of Douglas's affairs in Scotland 54. Summoned to answer such points of dittay as were

laid

laid to the earl of Douglas's charge in his absence at Rome—he puts himself in the king's will—is persuaded to disobedience by the earls of Ormond and Murray 55. Forfeited and condemned to death in parliament *anno* 1455, 80.

DOUGLAS (Beatrix) the fair maiden of Galloway 29. Married to William 8th earl of Douglas 30. Condemned to death by parliament, sues to the king for mercy 89. Receives forgiveness, and is married to the king's (uterine) brother, John earl of Athole 90.

— (lord Dalkeith) *vide* Douglas earl of Angus, hated by the earl of Douglas 66.

— (Sir David) endeavours to persuade the earl of Douglas's brother David, not to go to Edinburgh 27.

— (earl of) the chancellor Creighton applies to him for assistance against the governor Livingston and the queen mother 9. His ireful answer *ibid.* Died *anno* 1439 of the hot fever at Lestallrig 12. Succeeded his father Archibald *ibid.* He becomes arrogant, makes knights and holds a parliament within his own bounds 13. Sends Malcolm Fleming of Cumbernauld, and Allan Lauder ambassadors to Charles VII. king of France, to demand the duchy of Turine, which he obtained 15. Invited by the parliament to come with his brother to Edinburgh 24. They remain two days with the chancellor Creighton 25. They come to Edinburgh 27. Is beheaded in the castle of Edinburgh with his brother David, and Sir Malcolm Fleming of Cumbernauld, in the year 1440, 28. Called the Gros, succeeded his nephew earl William, he permitted slaughter and her ship, and died at Abercorn the third year after he succeeded his nephew 29. Is reconciled to the king at Stirling 32. And manages all things at court *ibid.* Marries Agnes Dunbar, daughter of James earl of Murray 40. His oppressive power 43. Makes a journey in great state to Flanders, France and Rome 54. Returns from Rome, but without any pomp

pomp 56. Is made lieutenant general of the kingdom 57. Deprived of all his offices *ibid.* Attempts to assassinate Sir William Creighton 59. Confederates with the earls of Crawford, Ross, Murray and others, against all that should oppose them or their adherents 60. Hangs John Harries, a nobleman, against the king's command 61. Invited by king James II. to Stirling castle 64. Refuses to renounce the confederacy with the other earls 65. Is killed by the king 66. Summoned to parliament to answer for his crimes 70. He despises the summons *ibid.* He sent to the Pope for a dispensation to marry his brother's wife which he could not obtain *ibid.* But without law or respect to God he married her 71. He refuses, by the advice of his friends, to submit to the king *ibid.* His friends desert him 72. Beatrix his pretended wife, George earl of Ormond, and John lord Balveney, were in the parliament forfeited and condemned to death 80. Invades his native country with the earl of Northumberland, but is put to flight by his kinsman the earl of Angus 91. A prisoner in the castle of Edinburgh 126. His insolence to the king *ibid.*

DOUGLAS of Drumlanerick fights with the laird of Hempfield in set combat 233. Banished for lese-majesty 238.

—— (Gavin) endeavours to make peace between the earls of Arran and Angus 187. His witty answer to bishop Beaton *ibid.*

—— (Sir George) brother of the earl of Douglas, burns the town of Alnwick 40. Made master household 205. Thanked by the governor Arran for his service at the battle of Ancram-muir 289.

—— groat, a coin struck by earl Angus, value eighteen pennies 206.

—— (James) besieged and took the castle of Hailes, which was yielded by Archibald Dunbar 36.

DOUGLAS

DOUGLAS (John) summoned and put to the horn for
benefit 315.

— of Lochleven, *vide* Lindsay (lord) has the
charge of the door of the kirk of Lauder, at the
consultation of the barons therein 124. His
speech to Cochran earl of Mar *ibid.* A commander
at the battle of Ancram-muir 288, 290.

— (lady Margaret) born in London 199.
Discharged out of the tower of London 338.

— earl of Morton married —, 6th daughter
of king James I. 38. One of the commanders
at the battle of Corrichie 334. In 1587 was executed
in Edinburgh 338.

— earl of Murray, *vide* Douglas (Archibald)
vide Douglas (John) lord Balveny 42. Convicted
and forfeited of lese-majesty *ibid.* Slain fighting
against his sovereign in Annandale 87.

— (George) made earl of Ormond 41. *Vide*
Douglas (John) lord Balveny. Commander of the
Scots army at the battle of Sark 48. The king's
harangue to him and the earl of Douglas after the
battle of Sark 51. Forfeited and condemned to
death in parliament *anno* 1455, 80. Taken prisoner
in Annandale 87. Beheaded in Edinburgh 88.

— (James) of Parkhead, captain of the king's
guard 217, 218.

DRUMELZIER (laird of) slew the lord Fleming as he
was hawking 204.

DRUMMONDS burn the kirk of Moneward, wherein
was six-score of Murrays 162.

— (David) beheaded for burning the Mur-
rays in the kirk of Moneward *ibid.*

— (lord) *vide* Douglas earl of Angus, and
Hepburn earl of Bothwell, rebels against his sove-
reign 140. Attends the governor Arran to the
siege of Coldingham 285.

DUMB woman confined with two children in Inch-
keith 162.

DUMBLANE, a parliament held there, December 1558,
310.

DUMFERMLINE

DUMFERMLINE abbay destroyed by the reformers 328. (The royal walls of) were casten down, and there was found the body of a child, supposed to be a son of queen Margaret 40.

DUMFRIES burnt by the English *ibid.*

DUN (George) abbot of Dumfermline, a great confidant of the governor Arran 301.

DUNBAR burnt and herried by the English 40. Given up to the king 119.

—— (Archibald) besieged and took the castle of Hailes 36.

—— (Patrick) earl of March, a character of his wife 41.

—— earl of Murray, *vide* Douglas (Archibald)

DUNDAS (James) knight 39.

DURIE (Mr Michael) was present at the death of king James V. 276.

E

ECLIPSE (total) of the sun 340.

EGLINTON (lord) *vide* Hepburn earl of Bothwell.

ELISABETH (queen) dies 341.

ELLIOT slew the laird of Cessford at the battle of Darneliver 211.

ENGLAND in trouble, the king being a bairn 45.

(The commons of) chose an Irishman named Henry, their chief, and marched to London to be revenged of the nobles in the time of king Henry VI.—the lord Grey treasurer, the bishop of Salis-

bury, and the lord Dudley were given up to them—they were satisfied with putting to death the

lord Grey—they spoil London, and slew all that made defence—they are dispersed with fair promi-

ses, and their leader Henry beheaded 46, 47. An army raised to revenge the loss of the battle of Sark,

a dissention among them 52. They send an ambas-

sor to obtain peace, which was concluded for three years 53. Desires peace from the Scots 108. De-

mands a pension from France which is refused 164.

EASKINS (John) of Dun, commissioner for the kirk 315, 317.

ERUKINS

ERSKINE (lord) a commander on the king's side at the battle of Bannockburn 141. Sent ambassador to France 238. Sent ambassador to France 248. Was present at the death of king James V. 276. Made joint keeper of queen Mary and her mother 282. Attends the governor Arran to the siege of Coldingham 285. Accompanies queen Mary to France 306.

—— (master of) accompanies king James V. to France 238. Slain at the battle of Mulsleburgh 304.

EVANDALE (lord) chancellor, *vide* Douglas earl of Angus, and Hepburn earl of Bothwell. And his brother chosen guards to king James V. 185.

F

FAIRNY (laird of) forrester and chamberlain of Fife 218.

FALAW, convention there 269.

FALCONER (David) a noble captain of war, murdered by Archibald Douglas formerly treasurer 223.

FIGHT of many Southland men, for certain crimes of lese-majesty 233.

FLEMING (lord) *vide* Douglas earl of Angus and Hepburn earl of Bothwell. One of the hostages for the safety of captain Wood 246. Constituted vice-admiral 171. Slain by the laird of Drumelzier as he was hawking 204. Accompanies king James V. to France 238. With the masters of Erskine, Graham, Livingston, Ogilvie and Buchan, slain at the battle of Mulsleburgh 304. Was on the 15th May anno 1562 honourably married 332.

—— (Sir Malcolm) of Cumbernauld, *vide* Douglas (earl of)

FORBES, *vide* Gordons.

FORBES (John) of Pitsligo, slain near Aberbrothock anno 1445, 36.

—— (master of) slew the laird of Meldrum under tryk 204. Convicted of lese-majesty 233.

FOREMAN

FOREMAN (Andrew) bishop of Murray, passed to Rome 164. He mediates a peace between the pope and king of France 165. His extraordinary grace at a banquet given by him to the pope 166. He is made legate of Scotland *ibid.* Made bishop of Burge in Berry *ibid.* Appointed by the pope bishop of St. Andrews 190. He was a Merle man 191. Persuades the lords of the west country to yeild to the duke of Albany 196. His death 203.

FORRESTER, *vide* Calder.

——— (Sir John) of Corsforthin, charged to bring in the moveables of the chancellor Creighton 33. His lands burnt and spoiled by Creighton 34.

FRANCE (the dauphin of) married Margaret eldest daughter of king James I. 38. (The maiden of) ruled the wars of that kingdom 45. (Henry II. king of) died in July *anno* 1559, 323.

FRANCIS II. king of France, died 6th December *anno* 1560, 330.

FRENCH army land at Leith 307.

FRENCHMEN land in Scotland 9th July *anno* 1543, 291.

G

GALBRAITH (Patrick) kills Robert Semple, takes possession of Dumbarton castle 31.

GALLOWAY invaded by king James II. 81.

——— (bishop of) made dean of the chapel royal of Stirling castle 136.

——— (Mr Norman) accused of heresy 234. And burnt 236.

GARTER king of arms. sent with a rich pall to cover the corpse of queen Mary 356.

GIBSON (Murdoch) *vide* Colquhoun (John) of Luss.

GLAMES (lady) convicted of lese-majesty, and burnt on the castle-hill of Edinburgh 233.

GLASGOW college founded *anno* 1454, 85.

——— the lords meet there to stop the duke of Albany's supply from France 195.

GLENCAIRN

GLENCAIRN (earl of) with his men fought at the battle of Linlithgow bridge 214, 215. Wounded deadly *ibid.* With the barons, vote against sending the regalia of Scotland to France 314.

GURNLIVET (battle of) by Gordon and Campbell. anno 1596, 340.

GLOUCESTER (duke of) protector of king Henry VI. of England imprisoned by a faction of noblemen, and the next day hanged 45. Enters Scotland with 10,000 men for the relief of king James III. 128.

GOODMAN (Christopher) a reformed preacher from Geneva 323.

GORDONS hanged at Aberdeen after the battle of Corrichie 334.

GORDON, captain of Inverness castle, hanged 333.

— of Findlater, takes several of the queen's men of war in Banff, is put to the horn 334. Is beheaded *ibid.*

GORDONS and Forbes fight the battles of Tullie Angus and Crabstane 338.

GORDON earl of Huntley, *vide* Douglas earl of Angus. Becomes cautioner for Sir James Stuart and his brother lord Lorn in the penalty of 4000 merks 14. Died of his wounds at the battle of Aberbrothock anno 1445, 36. Married —, 5th daughter of king James I. he afterwards parted with her 38.

Married a daughter of the earl of Errol *ibid.* 42. Raises an army for king James II. against the faction of the Douglasses—opposed in his march by the earl of Crawford—they engage at Brechin 67.

Huntley is victorious 68. Two of his brothers slain in this battle *ibid.* His lands burned in Strabogie 69. In revenge for which he burns and herries the earl of Murray's lands *ibid.* Came with small his men to the siege of Roxburgh 103. A commander on the king's side at the battle of Bannockburn 141. One of the commanders of the van at the battle of Floudon 181. Desires lord Hume to assist the king at the battle of Floudon,

don, who refused 182. Leads the rear of the Scots army to the battle of Pinky 300. Joins the congregation and forsakes the queen 328. Slain 334. His son John brake ward in Aberdeen 333. He with his son put to the horn 334. Accompanies king James V. to France 238. Slew the earl of Murray 340. Gordon earl of Sutherland restored to his liberty and estate 335.

—— (lord) restored to his liberty and estate *ibid.*

—— (William) of Burrowfield slain near Aberbrothock anno 1445. 36.

GORMACK (John) an Athole-man, a sworn tyrant of the earl of Douglas, slain by Sir William Ruthven of that ilk, sheriff principal of Perth 30.

Gowry's brothers, Patrick and William, proclamation for apprehending them 343.

GRACE (bishop Foreman's) at his banquet with pope Julius III. 166.

GRAHAM (lord) accompanies the earl of Douglas on his journey to Rome. 54. A commander on the king's side at the battle of Bannockburn 141.

Made joint keeper of queen Mary and her mother 282.

—— (master of) slain at the battle of Mulsleburgh 304. Taken prisoner by the English 314.

GRAY (lord) *vide* Douglas earl of Angus, and Hepburn earl of Bothwell. Rebels against his sovereignty 140. His servant murdered king James III.

143, 144. Attends the governor Arran to the siege of Coldingham 285. Taken prisoner by the English 314.

—— (lord) of England and his eldest son, slain at the battle of Mulsleburgh 304.

—— (Sir Patrick) the king's familiar servant, petitions the king to cause earl Douglas deliver up MacLellan 62. Conversation with earl Douglas, and threatens to be revenged on him 63, 64.

GUELDRÉ (princess of) espoused to king James II. 38. Lecherous of her body 109.

GUTHRY

GUTHRY (one of that name) puffed in cardinal Beaton's mouth after he was murdered in his castle of St. Andrews 298.

HADDINGTON fortified by the English, and kept by them three years 305. Not supplied with victuals 1st October *anno* 1569, is deserted by the English 308.

HALDANE (lady) of Glenegles 300.

HALLS (lord) so created *anno* 1455, 81.

— (Adam Hepburn of) his amours with queen Margaret 109.

— (master of) and Chirnside of Nisbet, murder the prior of Coldingham 203.

HAMILTON duke of Châtelleraut joins his forces with the queen's against the reformers 317. Joins the rebel lords and flies to England 335, 336.

— earl of Arran constituted admiral 171. Lands at Carrickfergus in Ireland *ibid.* Deprived of the office of admiral 172. Desires to have the government of Scotland 186. Meets with the conspirators against the duke of Albany at Glasgow 195. Accompanies king James V. to France 258. Chosen governor of Scotland 280, 282. Governor takes bribes from thieves and honest men indifferently 309. Made duke of Châtelleraut 310. Protested against the privileges claimed by the French 311. Escapes out of France 324.

— (James) of Cadzow, a retainer of the earl of Douglas 66. Deserts from the army of the rebel earl of Douglas 86. He is sent prisoner to the earl of Orkney in Rossin Castle 87. He is received into favour, and his son got the king's daughter in marriage *ibid.*

— (James) son of the sheriff of Linlithgow, accuses Lord Evandale his native cousin, of treason 258.

— (David) of Prestoun dissuades the governor from persecuting Mr George Wisheart 293.

HAMILTON (lord of) accompanies the earl of Douglas in his journey to Rome 54. Mourns the death of the Earl of Lennox at Linlithgow-bridge 215.

—— (Patrick) abbot of Fern accused of heresy 206. Is burnt at St. Andrews 209.

—— (Sir James) procures money from England to aid the earl of Douglas against his sovereign 81. He commands a great body of the rebels *ibid.* A bloody butcher 188. Slew the earl of Lennox at Linlithgow-bridge 215. Chosen judge by the bishops, because he was a blood-thirsty man 257. He is imprisoned 259. And executed *ibid.* He was designed of Draphan 258. And Lord Evandale 257.

—— (Sir Patrick) brother of the Earl of Arran defeats a valiant Dutchman 161. Slain on the street of Edinburgh 188.

—— (William) of Stenhouse, provost of Edinburgh, killed with his son and others in a scuffle in the streets of Edinburgh, by the French soldiers 308.

HARLAW (William) a reformed preacher 323. Summoned and put to the horn for heresy 315.

HARRINGTON (Robert) was taken prisoner at the battle of Sark 51.

HART (Jockie) a servant of king James V. 218.

HAY earl of Errol, *vide* Gordon (George), earl of Huntley. Married a daughter of George earl of Huntley and king James I's daughter 38. Made earl of Errol *anno* 1455, 81. Died 90. Accompanies king James V. to France 238. Marries the daughter of the earl of Lennox 251.

HEATLY with others murder the prior of Coldinghome 203.

HENRIEFIELD (laird of) fights the earl of Drumlanrick in set combat 133.

HENRY VI. king of England, a bad character of him 93. He employs an ingenious artifice to prevent the invasion of England by king James II. in favour of the nobles and others in rebellion against

gainst him 99. After being defeated and taken prisoner by a convention, was decreed to be put in firmance, but not to be deprived of his crown 100. Gets a safe conduct to come to Scotland with a thousand men 108. Goes to England and is imprisoned *ibid.*

HENRY VII. of ditto, demands his pension from France 164.

— II. king of France, dies in July *anno* 1559, 323.

— VIII. king of England obtains his French pension, discharges any insult to be committed on the borders of Scotland 185. Favours the earl of Angus and the Douglasses 233. Threatens to invade Scotland 265. His reply to Learmont 268. Informed of king James V's. death, is concerned for this accident, and dismisses the captive Scots Lords without ransom 279. Passes to France for his pension 290.

HEPBURNS, *vide* Humes, invade England under the earl of Angus 108. Combine with the Humes against the duke of Albany 116, 118. And Humes have the vanguard against their Sovereign at the battle of Bannockburn 142.

— earl of Bothwell, *vide* Douglas earl of Angus, with Lord Hume, Lord Evandale Chancellor, Lords Gray, Drummond, Eglintoun, Fleming, Seaton, Maxwell, were confined in Edinburgh castle for counselling the seizing of king James III. at Lawder 130. Banished for lese majesty 237. Hopes for the marriage of Queen Mary's mother 283. His description *ibid.* Attends the governor Arran to the siege of Coldingham 285. Delivered Mr George Wisheart to Cardinal Beaton 293. Seizes the English money sent to the reformers 324. Applies to Queen Mary to restore the mass 331. His sister married at Seaton *ibid.* Imprisoned for an attempt to seize Queen Mary, *anno* 1562, 332. Escapes 333, 336. Restored to his liberty and estate 335. Made Lieutenant-General of the borders 336.

HEP-

HEPBURN (John) vicar general of St. Andrews 190.

His hatred of the Humes 191, 193. Parts with the vicarship of St. Andrews 203.

—— master of Hailes with others, murder the prior of Coldinghame 203.

—— (Patrick) prior of St. Andrews 229.

HERAULD sent to the Homes, desforced and his letters riven 137. Reward the victors at tournaments 159. And blazon forth their deeds 160. Sent to deprive the earl of Arran of his office of admiral 172. Proclaimed at Stirling that the Douglasses should not come within six miles of the king 220. Sent ambassador to the emperor 238. Apprehends lord Esandale, accused of treason 259. Number the army 269. Sent to England to deliver the collar of St. George, in which king James V. was invested 280, 281. Sent from England *ibid.* Proclaims that Scotland was redeemed by the help of God 290. Sent through the army at Pinky, charging the men to pass forward in order of battle 302. Proclaim the combat between William Kirkaldie of Grange and lord Ivers 314. Sent to Hamilton to summons the duke of Chatelebraut to surrender his house 335.

HERMAPHRODITE, Linlithgow, called a *Scrarcht* 104.

HERON (Mr.) a leader in the English army 264. He is taken prisoner 265.

HERONS, many of them taken prisoners at the battle of Ancram-muir 289.

HERRIES (John) a nobleman taken and hanged by the earl of Douglas 60, 61.

HERTFORD (earl of) with 40,000 men comes to Fawside near Mussleburgh 307.

HIGHLANDERS of the isles brought prisoners by king James V. 236.

HOLYROOD-HOUSE palace founded by k. James V. 229.

HOMER (——) brother of lord Home made prior of Coldingham 191. *Vide* Herauld. And Hepburns invade England under the earl of Angus 108. Their rebellion 137, 138. And Hepburns combine against Alexander duke of Albany 116, 118. And Hepburns

burns banded themselves against king James III. 137.
And Hepburns have the van-guard against their
sovereign at the battle of Bannockburn 142.

HOME (Andrew) of Falkcattle discontented with the
king's annexing the priory of Coldingham to the
chapel-royal of Stirling 137.

— laird of Wedderburn, envies the regent Dela-
batie and kills him 201.

— (lord) *vide* Douglas earl of Angus and Hep-
burn earl of Bothwell. Holds part of the earl-
dom of March 115. Of which he was deprived by
the duke of Albany 116. He was the king's cham-
berlain *ibid*. Contrives differences between the king
and his brothers, Albany and March 117. One of
the commanders of the van at the battle of Flou-
don 181. Refuses to assist the king at the battle of
Floudon 182. Leaves the king's artillery on the
field of Floudon, which he might have rescued 183.
Combines with other lords against the earl of An-
gus 189. Caused proclaim the pope's bull, ap-
pointing bishop Foreman bishop of St. Andrews
191. Meets with the conspirators against the duke
of Albany at Glasgow 195. And his brother
convicted of treason and beheaded 198.

HORSE and mares brought from Denmark for a
breed 238.

HOWARD, earl of Surrey, made lieutenant of Eng-
land against king James IV. 178.

— (lord) arrives from France with 6000 men to
join earl Surrey 177. At Floudon remains with
earl Surrey on their feet

— (Mr) uncle to the queen, taken prisoner at
the battle of Ancram-muir 289.

HUNTING (remarkable) of king James V. 225, 226,
228.

HUNTLEY (earl of) made lieutenant of the borders
263. Brings a company of chosen men to the
siege of Roxburgh castle 103.

HUTCHISON (Mr) mayor of York taken prisoner at
the battle of of Ancram-muir 289.

JAMES I. murdered 1. His daughters marriages 38.
 — H. succeeds his father at six years of age 1.
 Conveyed out of the castle of Edinburgh in a coffer
 by his mother 6. Is seized by the chancellor when
 going out to hunt 18. Address by earl Douglas,
 who is courteously received. He schemes revenge
 for the murder of his names William earl Douglas
 and David his brother 31, 32. Marries Margaret
 daughter of duke of Guelders 38. Raises an ar-
 my, pursues the thieves in Galloway, takes Dou-
 glas and Lochmaben castles 56. Is afraid of being
 deposed by earls Douglas, Crawford, Murray and
 Ross 61. Writes to earl Douglas with Sir
 Patrick Gray 62. Stabs earl Douglas 20th Fe-
 bruary *anno* 1452, 66. Pardons the earl of Craw-
 ford and his followers for their rebellion 79. De-
 vises a deceit (to impose on earl Douglas) of his
 quitting Scotland 82. Passes to St. Andrews, to
 visit and take counsel of bishop Kennedy, who af-
 ter performing devotion, advises the king how to
 proceed 82—84. Erects his banner in St. Andrews,
 passes to Falkland, then to Stirling 84. Receives
 earl Douglas's head 88. Grieved at the civil wars
 and waste committed on the borders by the English-
 men 91. Solicited by Richard duke of York, and
 Edward Mortimer earl Warwick, for assistance to
 dethrone king Henry 93. The messengers ha-
 rangue the king and lords 94—98. His return
 to them *ibid.* Raises an army 99. Met by a
 monk and an Englishman, who make a speech to
 the king *ibid.* Imposed on by this deceit, disbands
 his army 100. Intends to take the town of Rox-
 burgh 101. Besieges the castle thereof 102. Is
 killed by the bursting of a cannon 103. His queen
 exhorts to continue the siege 103. Is yielded up
 in August *anno* 1460, 104.

— III. chosen christian to the besiegers of Rox-
 burgh castle 104. Crowned at Seoon, delivered
 to bishop Kennedy for his education 107. Being
 twenty years of age, is married to Margaret, king
 of

of Norraway's daughter, gets Orkney and Shetland in tocher good 114. Is imposed on by a witch, that he should die suddenly by one of his nearest of kin 117. Receives bribes from Cochran 119. Moved at the distress of the country, summons men between sixty and sixteen, both spiritual and temporal with forty days victuals, to meet in the burrow muir of Edinburgh 122. With 50000 men and artillery from Edinburgh castle passes to Soutray, Cochran earl of Mar being convoyer *ibid.* In his fight, Cochran (Robert) earl of Mar, formerly a mason, with others hanged over Lawder-bridge in August *anno* 1481, 125. Detained in the castle of Edinburgh 126. Communes with earl Douglas, terms of reconciliation offered, but proudly rejected by the earl, vows never to release Douglas *ibid.* 127. Writes letters to his brother duke of Albany at Berwick for support from king Edward of England *ibid.* Is released, rides from the castle with the duke of Albany behind him to the abbey of Holyrood-house, where the lords do him obedience 130. Accompanied by duke Albany, Gloucester, 2000 horsemen, and 500 footmen, passes to Stirling and through most of Scotland *ibid.* Flatterers impose on him against the duke of Albany of whom he is afraid 131. Still fearful after the duke makes his escape 135. Sends a herauld to summon the lords, who is desorced and his letters riven 137. Passes to Fife in captain Wood's ship, rides through Strathern and Angus to Aberdeen, consults with the Northland lords 138. Returns south with them 139. Arrives at St. Johnston 140. Receives a fine courser, comes to Stirling *ibid.* Flies on the same horse from Torwood, and is thrown off at Bannockburn 142. Is much hurt by the fall, taken into a mill there, calls for a priest, is murdered by him or lord Gray's servant 143, 144.

JAMES IV. crowned at Edinburgh 148. Passes from thence to Stirling, hears matins and evening-song in the chapel royal there, repents of rebelling against

against his father 148. Grieved for his murder,
 causes make an iron girth, to which yearly an eik
 of certain ounces weight are added, which he wears
 daily about him 149. Sends Steven Bull and his
 crew that were made prisoners with presents back
 to England 158. Travels through all Scotland
 alone *incog.* lodging in poor mens houses whereby
 he knew the sentiments of his people 159. Cries
 a method of rewarding by a herauld the best juster
 and fighter 160. Causes great care be taken of
 the upbringing of a monstrous child *ibid.* De-
 clares Sir Patrick Hamilton victor, by throwing his
 hat over the castle wall 162. In August *anno* 1505,
 marries Margaret first daughter of Henry VII.
 king of England 163. Well skilled in medicine 162.
 Builds the large ship the Great Michael 167, 168.
 Dines and sups on board her every day while at
 Leith *ibid.* Satisfied with the English king's an-
 swer, and promises not to invade England 170.
 But to send them an army by sea 171. Comes
 to Lithgow; while at his devotion is warned by a
 stranger not to pass where he purposed, else he
 would be confounded and brought to shame, so
 vanished away 173. Hattes to Edinburgh 174.
 Rejects the counsel of queen Margaret and his no-
 bles 175. Is said to have meddled with Lady
 Foord, a beautiful woman 176. Great part of
 his army being famished, forsake him 176. Lady
 Foord betrays them to the English 177. Careless
 and unadvisable, expecting Lady Foord's return
 178. In disguise hears the debates of the Lords;
 Lord Lindsay's speech 179. Resolves to fight
 contrary to his Lordship's counsel, threatening
 to hang him at his gate on his return to Scotland
 181. Refuses to allow Borthwick his gunner to
 shoot his artillery at the English, while on the
 bridge of Till, answering him as one demented
 181. He is defeated 182. Said to be carried off
 by four men on horseback, with spears and a wisp-
 183. Supposed to be taken from the field by the
 English,

English, but who could never show the iron-belt
184.

JAMES V. at the age of two years and five months, is crowned October 19. *anno* 1513 at Stirling 185. Takes upon him the government 204. Guided by the earl of Angus 205. Goes to the Airls in Jedburgh, writes to Buccleugh to meet him at Melrose 209. Grieved at Buccleugh's defeat, sends bishop James Beaton notice how to get quit of the earl of Angus 211. Persuaded by George Douglas to raise the men of Edinburgh and Leith to support earl Angus; rides to Lithgow 212, 214. Is sorrowful and returns to Edinburgh 216. Goes to St. Andrews 216. Where he hunts and hawks on Edin water 217. Proposes a hunting match in Falkland wood 218. But that night privately rides with two servants to Stirling, gets into the castle 219. Takes counsel of his Lords to be revenged of earl Angus 220. Cannon borrowed by the king from Dumbar castle; the unsuccessful siege of Tantallon 223. Holds a convention to staunch theft, &c. in Annandale and other parts 225. Hangs John Armstrong of Kilknocky; returns to Edinburgh 28th July *anno* 1528, 226. Next summer royally entertained by the earl of Athole in the Highlands 227, 228. Passes to Dunkeld, St. Johnston, Dundee, St. Andrews and winters at Stirling 229. Invited to pass to England, but restrained by the clergy, who give him 3000 pounds by year to sustain his house 230. Writes to Henry VIII. by the bishop of Aberdeen, which is to be kept secret, but laid open to the English Council, so challenged by the bishop 231, 232. Passes to the isles, causing the great men shew their holdings 236. Sends ambassadors to the emperor, and then to the duke de Vendome for a consort 238. Sails for France, lands not, but brought back by the skipper, enraged at this 239. Summons many of the nobility to attend his voyage to France, arrives and graciously received there, marries Magdalen the king's daughter,

ter, stays some time there, and returns to Scotland with the queen 240,—248. Marries the dutchess of Lorraine, she arrives in Scotland 249. Invited to meet Henry VIII. at York, but dissuaded by the clergy 253,—256. Disturbed by a vision in his sleep 261. Raises 60,000 men against duke of Norfolk 267. Desirous to fight the duke 270. Goes to Lochmaben castle 272. In grief returns to Edinburgh 274. Goes to Falkland, continues very bad, hears of his daughter's birth, and dies 275. His character 276.

JAMES VI. Born 19 June *anno* 1566 at Edinburgh, is baptized Charles James at Stirling December 18.

— 337. Marries Anne of Denmark *anno* 1590, 340. Departs from Edinburgh 5th April *anno* 1603, 344. His journey to London; his reception and gifts as passing through the different cities 344. — 354. Crowned and anointed king of England, first of that name on St. James's day 25th July 356. Passes through the city of London 357, 23d October *anno* 1604, proclaimed king of Great Britain at the cross of West Cheap 359.

JARDIN (Sir Alexander) of Applegirth goes to France with the duke of Albany 134.

INCH-GARVIE (castle of) 198.

INCHMERINE battle 16.

INCURSIONS by the Scots into England 40. And by the English into Scotland *ibid.* Of the Scots into England 47. By the English into Scotland 47. Of the English into Scotland with 40,000 men 48. Of the English into Scotland 288. Of the English in the west borders 299. On the borders 314.

INGLIS (John) the marshall, sees an apparition 173.

INNES (John) bishop of Murray *vide* Lighton (Henry.) This John Innes who was laird of Innes, died on the 25th of April *anno* 1414, according to Keith's catalogue of the Scots bishops 84. For which he quotes the chartulary of Murray.

INNES (Isabel) bore to — Dunbar earl of Murray, Alexander, a man of singular wit and courage. She was.

was but handfast with him, and deceased before the marriage 42.

INVASION of an English army of 40,000 men into Scotland 48. Of Galloway by king James II. 81.

Of Scotland by the English, commanded by the rebel earl of Douglas 87. Their defeat *ibid.* By

Donald lord of the isles and the earl of Douglas 88. Of the borders by the English 89. They

are fain to cry for peace and good will when there is unity in Scotland *ibid.* Of Scotland by the earl

of Northumberland and the forfeited James earl of Douglas 91. They are defeated and put to flight

by the earl of Angus *ibid.* Of England by king James II. 100. Of England by king James II.

101. Of England by the earl of Angus 108. Of the borders of Scotland and England 122. Of mid-

Lothian by the English 181. Of the marches by the English 285. Of the borders by the Scots and

French 291. Of Scotland by the English 307. Of Scotland by an English fleet 326. Of Scot-

land by an English army 328.

INVERNESS (town and castle of) destroyed 88.

JOHNSON (laird of) and the lord Maxwell, commanded the left wing at the battle of Sark 49. Warded

in Dundee for breaking the peace 237.

JOURNAL, a daily one, of the proceedings of the various exploits of the English, French, and lords of the congregation 328, — 332.

JUSTICE court fenced July 28. anno 1547 at Geddescleuch, accuse earl Rothes 299.

IVERS (lord) is defeated in single combat by William Kirkcaldie of Grange 314.

— (Sir Ralph) a leader in the English army 264. He is taken prisoner 265. Gets a grant of the

Merse and Teviotdale from king Henry VIII. 286. Is killed by the Scots 289.

KEITH, Agnes, daughter of earl Marshall married to James prior of St. Andrews 331.

KEITH

KEITH, earl Marshall, accompanies king James V. to France 240.

— master of Marshall, taken prisoner by the English 314.

KENNEDY (earl of Cassilis) accompanies king James V. to France 240.

— (James) arch-bishop of St. Andrews, [suspected by the earl of Douglas of befriending Creighton the chancellor and his party. His lands herried by the earl of Crawford and Sir Alexander Ogilvie of Innerquharity, instigated by letters from the earl of Douglas. He summoned the earl of Crawford, and led a sentence of cursing against him for contempt which the earl despises 34. His great prudence 43. Counsels king James II. to call a parliament 69. Prayed the king to spare the earl of Crawford 78. Counsels king James II. how to defeat the rebellion of the earl of Douglas 83. Gets the charge of king James III. his education 107. Helped to govern the realm during his days 108. He founded St. Salvator's college in St. Andrews *ibid.* His monument and ship *ibid.* Obtains the liberation of Alexander duke of Albany by threatening England with war 110. He dies *anno* 1476. His character *ibid.*

KERR of Cessford, convoys the regent to Dunse 201. Slain at the battle of Darneliver by an Elliot 211.

— of Ferneyhurst convoys the regent to Dunse 201

— (Mark) warded in Dundee for breaking the peace 237

KINCRAIG, the French quit their meat half prepared, and fly from the English 326.

KINFAWNS (laird of) made provost of Perth 318. Oppresses the burghesses, is put off 323.

KIRK (David) killed by French soldiers on the street of Edinburgh 308.

KIRK-DOORS, plackets or placards against the King pasted thereon by earl Douglas 70.

KIRK/LDIE of Grange was present at the death of king

king James V. 276. Being accessory to the murder of Cardinal Beaton, fortifies the castle of St. Andrews 298. Defeats lord Ivers in single combat 314. Forfeited by the regent-duke, reconciled to him 324.

KIRKPATRICK (battle of) 36.

KNOX (John) by preaching, encourages the mob to pillage religious houses 316, 318. Preaches openly in Edinburgh 323.

L

LA BARTIE, a Frenchman, killed by the master of Lindsay, 325.

LARGO (laird of) *vide* Lindsay (lord).

LAROUS (Sir Brian) a leader in the English army 264. He is taken prisoner 265. Gets a grant of the Merse and Teviotdale from king Henry VIII. 286, 289.

LAWDER, *vide* Calder.

—— (Alasdair) *vide* Douglas (William 6th earl of)

—— (George) bishop of Argyle, in danger of his life from Donald lord of the Isles 88.

—— (Mr John) accuses certain persons of heresy 254. Who are burnt 256. Accuses Mr George Wishart of forged articles of faith 294.

—— (a council held in the kirk of) 123. Propose to protect the king in safety to Edinburgh castle; Hang his familiars with Cochran 123.

LAWSON (Mr Richard) with a crown, protests against the summons of Ploteock, is the only man saved 174, 175.

—— (Richard) of Humbie, provost of Edinburgh 200.

LEARMONT (Patrick) of Darcey, provost of St. Andrews, joins the Reformers with 500 men 319.

—— (Sir James) of Darcey, and Mr William Stewart bishop of Aberdeen, commissioners to Henry VIII. to settle the peace of Scotland 266. See the secret writing of king James V. lying open before the council on the table 267. His address to Henry VIII. 268. with the king's reply 268.

LEITH skirmishings between it and Edinburgh 344.
 Besieged for a month without success 324. The
 superiority of this town purchased by Queen Mary
 for 11000 merks 336.

LENNOX (earl) named one of the regents 204. Kil-
 led by Sir James Hamilton after he was made pri-
 soner at the battle of Lithgow . 215. His cha-
 racter 215.

— (earl) recalled from France 282, hopes to mar-
 ry the Queen-mother, his person described 283.
 Is deluded by Cardinal Beaton 284. Put to the
 horn, forfaulted and returns to France 284, 285.

LESLIE (earl of Rothes) *vide* Stuart (James) prior
 of St. Andrews. Accompanies king James V.
 to France 240. He was present at the death of
 king James V. 276. Summoned by Cardinal Bea-
 ton to visit the coast of Fife, and provide fortifica-
 tions against the English 297. Tried for Cardi-
 nal Beaton's murder and acquitted 299. At-
 tempts to seize Lord Darnly in his way with the
 Queen from Perth 334. Put to the horn for op-
 posing the Queen's marriage 335. Flies to Eng-
 land 336.

— (George) the old parson being accessary to
 the murder of Cardinal Beaton, fortifies the castle
 of St. Andrews against the Queen and governor
 298.

— (Robert) his bones taken and forfeited for lese-
 Majesty 252.

— (Norman) master of Rothes, was present at
 the death of king James V. 276. A commander
 at the battle of Ancram-muir 288, 290. His al-
 tercation with the cardinal Beaton 297. Seizes
 the castle of St. Andrews, when the cardinal Bea-
 ton was murdered 298.

LEWIS king of France, and Pope Julius II. discord
 164.

LIGGON (Henry) bishop of Aberdeen, and John
 Innes bishop of Murray, reconciled the governor
 Livingston and chancellor Creighton after the last
 had

had stolen king James II. from the governor 20.
Vide Innes (John).

LINDSAY, history of the name, and earls of Crawford 74, 75, 76.

— earl of Crawford, *vide* Douglas earl of Angus, and Kennedy (James). Slain near Aberbrothock *anno* 1445, 35. Raises an army to oppose the earl of Huntley 67. Is defeated at Brechin 68. Where his brother was slain *ibid.* His wish to be seven years in hell, to have the honour of the earl of Huntley's victory 69. He slays all of his party that fled from the battle *ibid.* Forfeited in parliament *ibid.* Met king James II. as he was passing through Angus; and in poor arrayment, bare headed and bare footed, sought his pardon 73. His speech *ibid.* In which he gives an account of the origin of his family 75. He dies *anno* 1454, 80.

— (John lord) *vide* Stuart (James) prior of St. Andrews.

— (David lord) of the Byres made captain and lieutenant of 30,000 footmen, and 10,000 horse 140. Gets a special summons to Parliament 150. His remarkable speech in Parliament *ibid.* His brother Patrick speaks for him 152. Attended on the summons of king James III. against the Lords then in rebellion 140. A commander on the king's side at the battle of Bannockburn 141.

— (lord) chosen chancellor of the council 179. The Douglasses attempt to forfeit him 217. Was present at the death of king James V. 276. Made joint keeper of queen Mary and her mother 282. A commander at the battle of Ancram muir 288. The lairds of Wemyss, Lochlevin, Lundie, Largo, Allardes, and St. Ninians summoned by cardinal Beaton to visit the coast of Fife, and provide fortifications against the English 297. With other Fife gentlemen slay a number of Englishmen, being eight score 306. One of the commanders at the battle of Corrichie 334.

LIND-

LINDSAY (master of) one of the leaders of the first tumults of the reformers 315. Kills La Bastie a French captain 325, 327.

—— master of Crawford, married the daughter of cardinal Beaton in the Spring *anno* 1546 at Arbroath 297.

—— (Patrick) pleads the cause of his brother David lord Lindsay of the Byres before the parliament, for which he got the mains of Kirkforthar 154 155. And was confined a year prisoner in Rosay of Bute *ibid*.

—— (Sir David of the Mont) lord Lyon sees an apparition 173. Could not touch the person that warned the king at Lithgow *ibid*. Sent ambassador to the emperor 238. And to France *ibid*. Makes a triumphal arch at St. Andrews for the queen's reception 250. Was present at the death of king James V. 276. His book condemned to be burnt 315.

—— (Sir Walter of Torphichen lord of St. John) made lieutenant to the earl of Huntley 263. Sets out to the borders with 10,000 men *ibid*. With 2000 defeats the English army in August *anno* 1542 264 265.

LIVINGSTON (David) beheaded 39.

—— (lord) accompanies king James V. to France 238. Made joint keeper of queen Mary and her mother 282.

—— (master of) slain at the battle of Mussleburgh 304.

—— (Robert) treasurer beheaded 39.

—— (Sir Alexander) of Callander, chosen governor to James II. 3. His faction assisted by the queen-mother 5. Governor said to be the cause of the great dearth, and a favourer of bloody and mischievous tyrants 17. The governor's eldest son refuses to oppose the chancellor Creighton in carrying off king James II. from Stirling castle 18. Governor resigns that office—is summoned (with Sir William Creighton) and his two sons, Sir
d. Alexander of Callander Alex.

Alexander and Sir James, by a herald, to answer such crimes as the king should charge them with 32. They refuse to appear, and are forfeited in a parliament held in Stirling, and Sir John Forrester of Corstorphin is charged to bring in all their moveables 33. Sometime governor, Alexander his eldest son, Robert Livingston treasurer, and David Livingston both descended of Callendar, James Dundas of Dundas, and Robert Bruce of Clackmannan, knights, were cast in prison 38. And brought to Edinburgh, where Alexander Livingston, the former governor, James Dundas, and Robert Bruce, paid great sums and were warded in Dumbarton castle, the rest were beheaded 39. The speech of the governor's son upon the scaffold *ibid.*

LORRAIN (the duke of) his daughter married to Henry VI. of England 45.

LORRAIN (dutchess of) second queen to James V. lands in Fife, met at Balcomy 249. Visits Cowpar of Fife, Dundee, Stirling, Lithgow, Edinburgh, St. Johnston, &c. 251. In *anno* 1539, at St. Andrews delivered of her first son James Stewart duke of Rothsay, and in *anno* 1540 another, named Robert duke of Albany, &c. 252.

LORDS of Scotland conven, petition the king to take wise counsel in governing the realm, receive a prudent answer 121. Sworn to minister justice within themselves, or bring offenders to the king's justice, else to be held doers of the crimes themselves 126. Sixteen of them warded in the castle of Edinburgh for confining the king 130. Wait on the king to know where the duke of Albany should be beheaded 135. Convened at Stirling after king James V. made his escape from the Douglasses 220. Refuse to fight the duke of Norfolk, or leave Scotland unless they were invaded as they had agreed to the king's meeting Harry at York 270. Captives in England well used by king Henry 279. On 25th January *anno* 1543 return again to Scotland 280.

LORN

LORN (lord) so created *anno* 1455, 81.

LUNDIE (laird of) *vide* Lindsay (lord.) Made captain of the castle of Stirling 148. One of the leaders of the first tumults of the reformers 315.

LUSENCE (Monk.) made joint regent of Scotland 204.

LYLE (lord) so created *anno* 1455, 81.

M

M'CONNEL, Mudyart, M'Leod, M'Neil, M'Intosh, M'Kay, M'Kinzie, &c. taken captive by James V. 236.

M'CULLOCH (Alexander) clad like the king at the battle of Floudon 184.

M'GREGOR (laird of) in the left wing at the battle of Pinky 301.

M'KILRIE (John) king James V's. fool 205.

M'LELLAN tutor of Bomby, sister's son to Sir Patrick Gray master of Gray, captain of the king's guard, refuses to assist earl Douglas against the king 61. He is besieged and taken by the earl 62. The king writes by Sir Patrick Gray for his release *ibid.* He is beheaded in Douglas castle, while Sir Patrick is at dinner there *ibid.*

M'LEAN (or M'Leod) and Murdoch Gibson two notable thieves in the isles, slay John Colquhoun and his men at Lochlomond,—destroy the country 16.

M'LEOD (laird of) in the left wing at the battle of Pinky 301.

— of the Lewes, brought prisoner by king James V. 236.

MAGDALANE queen of king James V. lands at Leith 247. She died much lamented forty days after her arrival 248.

MALCOLM Canmore (king) the body of a child supposed to be his by queen Margaret, was found when the royal walls of Dumfermline were casten down 40.

MALTMAN (frier) preaches a lying sermon before the trial of Walter Mill for heresy 311.

MARGARET eldest daughter of king Henry VII. married to king James IV. 163. In May *anno* 1511, has a son 167. Solicits the king to stay at home and not discord with her brother the king of England 175. Marries the earl of Angus 186. Goes to England, meets her husband the earl of Angus, both well received by king Henry 199. Is delivered of a daughter 198. Wearies of earl Angus, and marries Henry Stuart brother of lord Evandale 206. Afraid of the Douglasses, wanders about disguised 216. Visits the earl of Athole 227.

— of Gueldre, queen of king James II. parts with child 40. Died at Edinburgh *anno* 1463, and was buried in the trinity college there, which she founded 109. Her leachery after her husband's death *ibid.* 110.

MARR (John earl of) brother to James III. his character 115. Murdered in the Canongate of Edinburgh 119.

MARY (queen) born at Linlithgow 275. Crowned in Stirling 20th August *anno* 1543, 282. Sailed to France in April *anno* 1548, 306. Married to the dauphin 310. Arrives 21st August *anno* 1561 at Leith from France 331. Marries Henry lord Darnley 335. Flies to England 339. Proclamation of her sentence *ibid.* Is beheaded 340.

— queen of England dies 314.

— (queen) of Lorrain goes to France, and is made regent of Scotland 309. Died in the castle of Edinburgh 10th June *anno* 1560, 330.

MAXWELL (James) of Telling, slain near Aberbrothock *anno* 1445, 36.

— (lord) *vide* Hepburn earl of Bothwell. And the laird of Johnston commanded the left wing at the battle of Sark 49. Accompanies king James V. to France 238. Buys the queen and governor for supplies against the English 299.

MEAL (high price of) being eighteen pounds the boll 340.

MEFFAN

MEFFAN (Paul) a reformed preacher arrives from England 313. 315.

MELDRUM (laird of) slain by the master of Forbes under tryll 204.

—— (William) laird of Binns, carrying off lady Gléneagies, daughter of Richard Lawton provost of Edinburgh, is attacked by Luke Stirling near Holyrood house chapel, much maimed, but lives fifty years after 162.

MELVIL (John) laird of Raith, beheaded at Edinburgh 309.

MEN (four) hanged for eating a goose on Friday, and a woman drowned at Perth, the sentences pronounced by earl Argyle justice general 293.

—— (learned) Laurence Valla, Petrarcha, Perotus, &c. 105.

METHVEN (brother of lord Evandale, made lord of) after his marriage with queen Margaret 206.

MILL (Walter) accused of heresy 311. His defence, condemned by Alexander Somervell and is burnt 312, 313.

MONCRIEF (laird of) sent to persuade the prior of the charter-house at Perth to turn Protestant 316.

MONWARD *i. e.* Monyvaird (the kirk of) in which were six-score of Murrays, besides wives and children, burnt by the Drummonds 162.

MONEY—Cochran earl of Mar strikes money of his own, called a Cochran plack 120. A groat of eighteen pennies struck, called a Douglas groat 206. Altered 311.

MONNYPENNY (laird of Pitmillie) being accessory to the murder of cardinal Beaton, fortifies the castle of St. Andrews 298.

MONSTROUS birth 160.

MONTEITH (earl of) a commander on the king's side at the battle of Bannockburn 141.

MONTGOMERY (lord) *vide* slaughter.

—— (the master of) slain on the street of Edinburgh 188.

—— (Mons. de Lorge) lands in Scotland with

- a body of French 291. Returns to France 292.
- MORICE (a Frenchman) made captain of Dunbar castle 204, 222.
- MORTIMER (Edward) earl of Warwick 93.
- MURRAY (bishop of) a great fornicator and adulterer 315.
- (earls of) from Robert the Bruce's time 41. Killed in Annandale 87. Accompanies king James V. to France 238. Killed at Dunibrisfel by earl Huntley 340.
- (laird of Tullibardine) assists the earl of Lennox with his vassals, to procure him the marriage of the queen dowager 283.
- MUSSELBURGH. an army mustered there, amounting to 40,000 men 200. The battle of described 302, 304.
- MUSTER of an army in the Burrow-muir of Edinburgh of 100,000 men, with 30 field pieces, &c. 175.
- MYRTOUN (a baxter) brings straw to burn abbot Patrick Hamilton 209.

N

- NEWHALL (laird of) in Fife, one of the leaders of the first tumults of the reformers 315.
- NEWHAVEN near Leith, a French ship arrives there, conveys duke of Albany to France 134.
- NORFOLK (duke of) commands 5000 men to attack Scotland 266.
- NORTHUMBERLAND (earl of) commanded the army of England at the battle of Sark 48. His son was taken prisoner there 51.

O

- OGILVIE (Alexander) one of his folks kills earl Crawford with a spear 35. After which a battle followed at Arbroath where Innerquharity and many gentlemen were killed in the year 1445, 36.
- (master of) slain at the battle of Musselburgh 304.

OGILVIE

OGILVIE of Innerquharity (Sir Alexander) *vide* Kennedy (James.) He usurps the bailiary of Aberbrothock, which pertained to Alexander Lindsay master of Crawford—is slain in an encounter with the master of Crawford *anno* 1445, 35.

OLIPHANT (lord) accompanies the earl of Douglas in his journey to Rome 54.

—— (Mr Andrew) accuses Walter Mill of heresy 311.

ORKNEY and Shetland given to king James III. as his queen's tocher 114.

—— (earl of) with Sir William Creighton placed in offices formerly enjoyed by earl Douglas 58.

Confined in Roslin castle 87. (Daughter of) married to the duke of Albany 131.

ORLEANS (the duke of) leaves the English in disgust 45.

ORMISTOUN (laird of) gives protection to Mr George Wisheart 292. Wounded and taken prisoner by the earl of Bothwell 324.

ORMOND (George earl of) after being cured of his wounds brought to Edinburgh, and is beheaded 88.

OUTLAWERIES intended of James earl Douglas, earl Murray and many more 70.

P

PALACE of Holyrood-house built by king James V. 229. Of Linlithgow built by king James V. *ibid.* Of Stirling castle built by king James V. *ibid.*

PANANGO (Simeon) captain of Tantallown castle, promised pardon, with a reward to give it up to the king 223. Being unsupported with ammunition and victuals by the Douglasses, delivers it up to the king, on conditions that are granted 224.

PARLIAMENT sat in Edinburgh 24. At Perth 37. At Edinburgh 38. At ditto 69. At ditto *anno* 1455, 80. At ditto 149. At ditto 193. At ditto 225. At ditto *anno* 1540, 252. At ditto 262.

At

- At ditto 310. At Dumblane *ibid.* At Edinburgh 20th July *anno* 1560, 330.
- PEACE with England expired 40. Agreed on 11. for seven years between Scotland and England 40. Granted to England by the Scots 108. Peace through all Scotland 159.
- PEEBLES, the king passes to it, 15th November 271.
- PENNEYTON (John) was commander of the Welshmen in the rear at the battle of Sark 49. Taken prisoner there 51.
- PERCY (Henry) earl of Northumberland invades Scotland with the forfeited James earl of Douglas, but they are defeated by the earl of Angus 91.
- of Northumberland one of the commanders of the van at the battle of Floudon 178.
- PEROTTUS (Nicolaus) 105.
- PERTH or St. Johnston (the town of) oppressed by the provost, but relieved 323.
- PESTILENCE in Scotland *anno* 1439, so great, that all infected with it died the day it seized them 17. In Edinburgh 339.
- PETRARCHA (Franciscus) 105.
- PHILELPHUS (Franciscus) a learned man *ibid.*
- PLOTCKOCK (a strange summons of) at the cross of Edinburgh by midnight; heard by Mr. Lawson and protested against 174.
- POPE's ambassador astonished at the sumptuous entertainment in the Highlands by the earl of Athole 228.
- PÖPE Julius II. raises a great army against the king of France 164. Peace effected between them by bishop Foreman of Moray 165.
- POSE (*i. e.* treasure) of king James III. discovered by the captain of the castle of Edinburgh 148.
- PRIMROSE (Mr Henry of Balnaves) being accessory to the murder of cardinal Beaton, fortifies the castle of St. Andrews against the governor and queen 298.
- PRINCES, the sons of king James V. die 261.
- PROCESSION of the governor Arran to the parliament 310.

PROCLAMATION through Fife, Strathern and Angus, that all men between sixty and sixteen years of age, do meet the king on a certain day 138. Made at Lithgow by the rebel lords against the king 139. Summoning all men between sixty and sixteen years of age to meet the king at the Burrow-muir of Edinburgh, within two days, with forty days victuals 172.

PRODIGES relation of strange ones before the death of king James II. 104.

PROPHECIES of Mr George Wisheart 296.

PURVES (William) killed in a scuffle with the French soldiers in the street of Edinburgh 308.

Q

QUEEN dowager, with some of the nobility, passes to France, and is made regent of Scotland 309. Consented to by the Parliament, and elected regent 310. Agrees with the reformers on terms, breaks them and banishes all the congregation 318. Withstood at Edinburgh, retires to Leith 323.

R

RAMSAY (Sir John) of Balmain, afterwards treasurer of Scotland, a great favourite of king James III. 125. The only familiar servant of king James III. saved at Lawder, and how 125.

RANDAL (Annes) daughter of the earl of Murray, married to Patrick Dunbar earl of March, called black Annes, a woman of greater spirit than it became a woman to be 41.

— earl of Murray *ibid.*

— (Sir Thomas) of Strathdown, the chief of the name *Allan*: an account of his posterity *ibid.*

RAVISHING of women by the murderers of cardinal Beaton 298.

REATH (laird of) forfeited by the regent duke, reconciled to him 324.

REBELION of the Humes 138.

REFLECTION on the fate of bad counsellors 221.

Re-

REFORMERS reform Perth, Stirling and Linlithgow 323. And Edinburgh *ibid.*

REFORMING lords and barons write to England for support 325.

REIDMAN (Magnus) called by the Scots, Magnus with the Red Main, an implacable enemy of Scotland, invades it with 40,000 men 48. He obtains a grant of as much land in Scotland as he could conquer, from king Henry VI. is slain by the Scots 50.

RELIGION, uproars about it began, assembly in the Black-friers in Edinburgh, pass three remarkable constitutions 315.

RICHARD duke of York 93.

RIGG (Hugh) of Carbary, a confident of the governor Arran 301.

ROSS (earl of) *vide* Donald earl of Ross, and Donald (lord) of the isles, ravages the country, chafes George bishop of Argyle, destroys the town of Inverness 88. His wife sues for pardon from the King, is rewarded with rents and lands, to live suitable to her estate 90. He solicits his pardon from the king 92. Comes with an army of Highlanders to the siege of Roxburgh castle 102.

— (lord) of Hacket made commander of the James ship of war 171.

ROTHES (earl of) accused 299.

ROTHSAY (duke of) son to James V. dies at St. Andrews 261.

ROXBURGH castle taken by the Scots 104. And demolished 107.

RUBIE (Monsieur) made comptroller 310.

RUTHVEN earl of Gowrie, a proclamation for apprehending his brothers 343. In 1583 was executed in Stirling 338.

— (lord) sheriff of Strathern, attended the king with 3000 men at Perth 140. Accompanies king James V. to France 238. Provost of Perth discharged from that office by the queen-regent 318. Restored to it by the congregation 323. With others,

others, sail from Pittenweem to Berwick to conduct the army by land into Scotland 327, 328.
RUTHVEN (Sir William) of that ilk, *vide* Gormack (John)

S

SADLER, ambassador from England 281. Is insulted by the citizens of Edinburgh, which proved fatal to that city 281.

—— (Sir Ralph) a leader in the English army 264. He is taken prisoner 265.

ST. NINIAN (laird of) *vide* Lindefay (lord)

SALISBURY (the earl of) his slaughter profitable for France 45.

SALTOUN (lord) accompanies the earl of Douglas in his journey to Rome 54. Accompanies king James V. to France 238.

SANDILANDS (John of Calder) and Allan Stuart near Dumbarton killed Patrick Thornton, for which offence is apprehended and put to death 90.

SARK (battle of) 48.

SCARHT, account of the birth of one described, the goodman's daughter in Lialithgow conceives a child to this hermaphrodite 104.

SCOON, a convention held there, 107.

SCOT of Balyery, takes the queen's side against the congregation 326.

SCOT, laird of Buccleugh, at the command of king James V. by a private letter, raises his men to relieve the king from the Douglasses 109. Is defeated 211. A commander at the battle of An-cram-muir 288, 290. Warded in Edinburgh-castle as a breaker of the peace 237.

SCOTLAND named the arse of the world 228.

SCOTS (the) defeat Northumberland and William Reidman on the water of Sark, where the latter is killed 47,—53.

SEALS of the kingdom altered 311.

SEIGE of Abercorn castle 82. Of Alnwick-castle by captain Brice; he takes it 109. Is besieged therein by the English... The siege is raised by

by George earl of Angus *ibid.* Surrender and demolition of the castle of Arran by Donald lord of the Isles and the earl of Douglas 88. Of Bomby by the earl of Douglas 62. Of Broughty-castle 306. And taking of Burntisland by the English 326. Of Carlisle 203. Of Coldingham by the earl of Arran governor 285. Of Sir Richard Colvil by the earl of Douglas 53. Of Crichton-castle 34. And taking of the castle of Crichton by the reformers 325. Of the castle of Dalkeith 66. The besiegers depart without success 67. Taking and demolition of Douglas-castle by king James II. 56. Of Edinburgh-castle 10, 37, 281. And destruction of Ford 176. Of the castle of Glasgow 284. Of Hailes castle 36. And taking of Inch keith and Broughty castle from the English 308. Siege and destruction of the town and castle of Inverness, by Donald lord of the isles 88, 333. And taking of Langhope-castle from the English 299. Of Leith by the reformers without effect 324, 329. And taking of Lochmaben-castle by king James II. 56. And destruction of Norham 176. Of Perth 323. And demolition of the town of Roxburgh by king James II. 101. Of the castle of St. Andrews by the governor Arran 298, 299. Taken by the French 300. Of Semple castle 328. Of Tantalloun-castle 223. And demolition of the castle of Wark 108, 176, 203.

SELBIES, many of them taken prisoners at the battle of Acrem muir 289

SEMPLÉ (lord) *vide* slaughter. His castle besieged and taken 328. Whose daughter was concubine to the archbishop of St Andrews; slew lord Sanquhar in the governor's chamber 309.

—— (master of) slaughter between him and the lord of Kilmaurs 204. Banished for lese-majesty 237.

—— (Robert) and Patrick Galbraith, equally entrusted with the castle of Dumbarton; dispute for the

the chief command, and in a quarrel Galbraith flew Semple 31.

SETON (lord) *vide* Douglas earl of Angus, and Hepburn earl of Bothwell. Accompanies the earl of Douglas in his journey to Rome 54. One of the hostages for the safety of captain Wood 146.

In danger of being hanged by the captain's brother for his detention on shore 147. The cardinal David Beaton delivered a prisoner to his keeping 282.

SHAW (James) of Sauchie, made captain of the castle of Stirling 137. With the custody of the prince of Scotland *ibid.* Treasonably betrays his trust, by accepting of a bribe in gold and silver for delivering up the prince to the rebel lords, and engaging to keep the castle of Stirling against the king 139. Refuses the king admittance into the castle of Stirling 140.

SHIP, called the great Michael, wasted all the woods of Fife in building 167. Her length and breadth planted with hawthorn, before the gate of Tullibardine, by the wright that helped to make her 168.

SHIPS, Margaret and James, two great ones belonging to James IV. 171.

SINCLAIR earl of Orkney, *vide* Douglas earl of Angus. Chancellor appointed to gather up the rents of Galloway and Clydsdale for the king's profit 55. Was disobeyed, mocked, and injured by the earl of Douglas's followers 56. And Sir William Creighton succeed the earl of Douglas in all his offices 58. His daughter married to Alexander duke of Albany 131.

—— (Oliver) made captain of Tantallown castle 224. Is lieutenant of the army, under whom the nobles would not serve 272.

SKIRMISHES between the Scots and English on the borders 263. In Edinburgh street, between the townsmen and the French 308. Between Edinburgh and Leith 324.

SLAUGHTER

- SLAUGHTER betwixt the lords Montgomery, Kilmaurs and Semple 194.
- SOLWAY-moss, battle of 273, 274.
- SOMERSET (duke of) 100.
- SPANISH Armada 340.
- SPEARS of the Scots longer than the English 289.
- SPIRIT (a) as was supposed, summoned all persons to appear before Plotcock 174.
- SPOIL of Linlithgow, Stirling, Kinghorn, Dysart, Wemyss, and the laird of Grange's house by the French 325.
- STIRLING the chapel royal in the castle of) founded by king James III. 136. And the great hall there *ibid.*
- STIRLING of Keir, with fifty men, attacks William Meldrum near Edinburgh 200. Condemned for this crime 201.
- STORM, called the evil storm 260.
- STRACHAN (Sir George) and Sir Hugh Currie priests, seize Walter Mill for heresy 311.
- STRAITON (David) brother of Lauriston, accused of heresy 234. And burnt 236.
- STRANGERS come to Scotland, and fight at the tournaments with Scotsmen 160.
- STUART (Allan) a nobleman, murdered by Patrick Thornton 90.
- (Allan) lord of Darnly, *vide* Boyd (Sir Thomas)
- (Alexander) slew Sir Thomas Boyd in revenge for his brother Allan's slaughter 12.
- (Alexander) bishop of St. Andrews, commits fornication with lady Ford's daughter 176.
- (Alexander) made bishop of Moray and abbot of Scoon 194.
- (Alexander) duke of Albany, sent to France to be educated 110. Is taken by the English at sea, but is released at the instance of bishop Kennedy *ibid.* His character 114. Chosen captain of Berwick and lieutenant of the kingdom 115. And his brother John earl of Mar unjustly suspected

pected by their brother king James III. 118. He sends for them to Edinburgh, but Alexander fled to the castle of Dunbar; his brother John came to Edinburgh and was slain in the Canongate in a bath-fat 119. The duke fled to Berwick *ibid.*

STUART (Andrew) bishop of Moray 38.

— (Bernard Daubeney in France) brother to the earl of Lennox, made governor of Naples, suspected by the French king of usurping the crown of Naples, returns to Scotland and made judge of the justings, &c. and called the *Father of war* 162, 163.

— (captain James) of Cardonnoek, brought 30,000 crowns from France to the earl of Lennox 283, 284.

— countess of Lennox, daughter of the earl of Angus discharged out of the tower of London 337.

— earl of Athole 38. Marries Beatrix Douglas 90. A commander on the king's side at the battle of Bannockburn 141. Entertains king James V. in Athole 227. Accompanies king James V. to France 238.

— earl of Lennox made joint regent of Scotland 204. Chosen one of the governors of king James V. 205. He is disoblged at the conduct of the earl of Angus, and retires to the country *ibid.* Sent for by king James V. to assist him to remove the earl of Angus 212. Slain by Sir James Hamilton at the battle of Linlithgow bridge 215.

His eldest daughter married to the earl of Errol 251. Comes to Scotland 282, 283. Raises an army *ibid.* Forfeited 284. He retires to England, and marries lady Margaret Douglas 285, 291.

— earl of Mar 115.

— earl of Murray, the king's brother, made lieutenant general and sent to the borders 231. One of the commanders at the battle of Corrichie 334. Slain by the earl of Huntley 340.

— (Henry) brother of the lord Evandale married the

- the queen Dowager, and is created lord Methven 206.
- STUART (James) brother to lord Lorn, assists earl of Douglas against Creighton and Livingston 13, 14. Is banished 37.
- (James) called Hearty James earl of Buchan 38.
- (James) of Auchmynto, *vide* Boyd (Robert) Murdered by Robert Boyd of Duchal; his wife taken prisoner, roughly used, parts with a dead bairn, and dies the third day after of a fright 36.
- (James) prior of St. Andrews, with George earl of Rothes, John lord Lindsay, Andrew Wood of Largo and others, defeat the English at the ferry of Partincraig 306, 307. Joins the reformers 318. Made earl of Murray 331. And married the earl Marishall's daughter *ibid.*
- (John) and William, sons of the abbot of Dryburgh, keepers of the castle of Glasgow, surrender it to the governor the earl of Arran 284.
- (John) duke of Albany 135.
- lord Darnley 334. The earl of Rothes attempts to seize him *ibid.* Created duke of Rothsay and earl of Ross 335. Is married to queen Mary *ibid.* Is knighted 336. Is murdered 337.
- (Mr William) killed in a scuffle with the French soldiers in the street of Edinburgh 308.
- (Sir Alexander) of Garleis, sent ambassador to England 231.
- (Sir James) brother of the lord Lorn, married the queen mother, and assisted the earl of Douglas against the governor and chancellor 13. He and his brother are imprisoned by the governor, but released upon caution in the sum of 4000 merks 14. The queen mother's husband is banished—is taken at sea and carried to Flanders where he died—the queen his wife died shortly after him 37. His issue with the queen mother 38.
- (William) bishop of Aberdeen, the king's uncle—sent ambassador to England 266.

SURREY (earl of) with lords Howard, Dacres, Westmorland and Peircies of Northumberland march against the Scots at Flodden hill 1578.

SWEDEN (king of) courts the marriage of queen Mary 331, 332.

T
TABURNER (Steven) an excellent archer 230.

TANTALLOUN castle, the siege thereof intended 10th December anno 1527, 222. Is delivered up to the king and repaired 224.

TAXATION (general) of the whole realm of five shillings in the pound, which arose to 30,000 pounds Scots 263.

TERMES (Monf. de) sent to command the French in Scotland 308.

THOMSON (John) in Leith an excellent archer 230.

THORNTON (Patrick) one of the king's household, but a favourer of the earl of Douglas's rebellion, murdered John Sandilands of Calder, and Allan Stuart a nobleman near Dumbarton, the king made diligence apprehended him and his accomplices, and put them to a shameful death 90.

TILLIBARDIN at the gate thereof, the length and breadth of the ship *Great Michael* planted with hawthorn 168.

TILLIBOEY bridge on 26th January anno 1560 cut; many of the French starved and killed near it 326.

TOURNAMENTS 159.

TRADESMEN of every kind brought from abroad to Scotland 238.

TREASURE *vide* Pole.

U
URQUHART, *vide* Calder.

V
VALLA (Laurentius) a learned Roman 105.

WALLACE

- WALLACE Craigie (laird of) commanded the right wing at the battle of Sark 49. His speech to his men 50. He was deadly wounded at this battle, and died three months after 51.
- WARNING to courtiers 221.
- WARWICK (earl of) made captain of Calais 101. (Edward Mortimer earl of) 93.
- WEDDERBURN (Mr John) vicar of Dundee, an excellent archer 230.
- WENYSS (laird of) *vide* Lindsay (lord.) Takes the queen's side against the congregation 326. (Sir David) of that ilk, sent ambassador to England 231. An excellent archer 230. Encounters the English in St. Ninians-muir 307.
- WESTMORLAND (lord) one of the commanders of the van of the English army at Flodden battle 178.
- WILTOK (John) a reformed preacher summoned and put to the horn for heresy 313.
- WINRAM (dean John) D. D. sub prior of St. Andrews, makes a sermon against heresy at the trial of Mr George Wisheart 294. Suspected by the cardinal 295.
- WINTIE, admiral of the English landed at Aberdeen 326.
- WISHEART (Mr George) a reformed preacher, protected by the laird of Ormiston 292. Delivered to cardinal Beaton by the earl of Bothwell, who never prospered afterwards 293. Condemned to death 294. Is burnt 296. His prophecies *ibid.*
- WITCH, foretells the sudden death of king James III. 117, 131.
- WITCHES prophecy to king James III. likely to be verified 142.
- WITHRINGTON (Sir John) a leader in the English army 264. He is taken prisoner 265. Taken prisoner at the battle of Ancrum-muir 289.
- WOMAN (dumb) with two young bairns put into Inch-keith, where they are maintained, to know what language the bairns could speak 162.

WOMAN drowned for not praying to our lady in her birth 293.

WOOD (Andrew) of Largo, *vide* Stuart (James) prior of St. Andrews. A sea captain 138. Commander of the ships, the Flower and the Yellow Carnal,—summoned to answer the council,—he appears after having received hostages for his return 146, 147. Defeats the English at sea 155, 158. Sent to deprive the earl of Arran of his office of admiral 172. Sent to France ambassador for the duke of Albany 190, 192. The king's carver sent to stop the slaughter at Linlithgow bridge 214, 215. Was present at the death of king James V. 276. Encounters the English in St. Ninians-muir 307.

YORK (Richard duke of) 93.

AUTHOR'S ACCOUNT

HISTORY.

HERE beginneth the history and chronicles of Scotland, which was left unwritten by the last translators, to wit, Mr HECTOR BOES and Mr JOHN BALANTYNE, who ended their chronicle at the slaughter of King JAMES I. which was, from our redemption, one thousand four hundred and thirty six years, the twenty first day of February: therefore we follow henceforth in order, beginning at King JAMES II. so briefly succeeding all the kings, queens, governors, and regents, that have been since the day foresaid, unto this day and date hereafter following. And furthermore, have sought, gathered, and collected, all the notable acts done by these foresaid princes in their time: and all troubles and enormities of conspirations fallen, in like manner, in

A their

ii *The AUTHOR'S ACCOUNT, &c.*

their days, are comprehended in this volume; and specially the manner of the reformation of the religion, and what was done therein since the fifty and eighth year, until the threescore and fifteenth year, sought, gathered, written, and collected, by me ROBERT LINDSAY of Pitcottie, instructed and learned, and lately informed by thir authors, as after follow; to wit, PATRICK lord LINDSAY of the Byres, Sir WILLIAM SCOT of Balwirie, knight, Sir ANDREW WOOD of Largo, knight, Mr JOHN MAJOR

the William, Christian was, of how many
ed character of Scotland, began that he had
worthily exercised the same office in King James I.
his time.

In the mean time, Archibald earl of Douglas,
a very potent and valiant knight, continued
the king's interest in respect of his great abilities;
so many complaints were made to the government
against him, and especially upon the merit of a scandal;
because he not only spoiled the whole country near
about him, but also cruelly slew the inhabitants there-
of without any pity; and when he was commanded
to return, he was unwilling to do so, and the king
was obliged to send him a warrant that would
satisfy his mind, and also kept others that would
have satisfied their consciences; and wanted provision
publicly that no man within a hundred, or other
bound within a certain time to the execution either
to call or to be called.

Beginning at King James I.

of Largo, knight, Mr JOHN MAJOR
doctor of Theology, who wrote his chro-
nicle hereupon, and also Sir DAVID
LINDEAT of the Mont, knight, alias,
Lyon King of Arms, with ANDREW
WOOD of Largo, principal and familiar
servant to King JAMES V. ANDREW FER-
NIE of that ilk, a nobleman of recent
memory, Sir WILLIAM BRUCE of Earl-
shall, knight, who hath written, very
justly, all the deeds since Flodden field.

And thus have I
gathered and collected all the notable
deeds of this famous battle of Flodden
and all the losses and conquests
in this famous battle of Flodden
A

[illegible]

SIR WILLIAM CREIGHTON was, of new, approved chancellor of Scotland, because that he had worthily exercised the same office in king JAMES I. his time.

In the mean time, ARCHIBALD earl of Douglas, being very potent in kin and friends, contemned all the king's officers, in respect of his great puissance; so many complaints were made to the governor and magistrates, and especially upon the men of Anandale, because he not only spoiled the whole countries nearest to him, but also cruelly slew the indwellers thereof without any pity: and when he was commanded to repair such injuries done by him, he both obstinately disobeyed, and also stopt others that would have amended these offences; and caused proclaim publicly, that no man within Anandale, or other bounds whatsoever pertaining to his dominions, either to call or withdraw the rest; or yet, if he was called, that he obey not any of the king's officers, under the pain of death; alledging, that he had privilege of the king to decide all matters within the bounds foresaid; wherefore the whole nobility, that were men of good zeal and conscience, seeing justice utterly suppressed on every side, were highly commoved at the said earl of Douglas, but durst not attempt to punish therefore, because they dreaded to provoke greater troubles, both to themselves and also to the whole realm, if they would invade so great a man.

Through this manner the whole youth of Scotland began to rage in mischief and lust; for, so long as there was no man to punish, much her ship and slaughter was in land and burroughs, great cruelty of nobles amongst themselves; for slaughter, theft, and murder, were then patent, and so continually, day by day, that he was esteemed the greatest man of renown and fame, that was the greatest brigand, thief, or murderer: But they were the cause of these mischiefs, that were governors and magistrates of the realm.

In this mean time many great dissentions arose amongst us, but it is uncertain who was the mover, or by what occasion. The chancellor exercised his office

office further than became him. He kept both the castle of Edinburgh, and also our young king therein, who was committed to his keeping by the whole nobility; and a great part of the nobility assisted to his opinion. On the other side, Sir ALEXANDER LIVINGSTON, bearing the authority committed to him by the consent of the nobility, maintained another faction; to whose opinion, the queen mother, with many of the nobles, assisted very cruelly. So the principals of both the factions caused proclaim letters at the market-crosses, and principal villages of this realm, 'that all men should obey, conform to the letters set forth by them, under the pain of death.' Through which no man knew whom they should obey; and also great troubles appeared in this realm daily, because there was no man to defend the burghesses, priests, and poor men labourers haunting their leison business, either publicly or privately, and all other feeble persons unable to defend themselves, who were most cruelly vexed and afflicted by wicked unhappy tyrants, in such troublesome times: For when any past to seek redress from the chancellor, of injuries and troubles sustained by them, these thieves and brigands feigned themselves to be of the other faction, and would burn their houses, and carry their whole goods away before they returned home. And even such like mischief befel them that went to complain to the governor of the oppression done to them. Some other good men, moved, upon consideration and pity of their present calamities, suffered many such injuries, and kept themselves at home, and sought no redress.

In the middle of these troubles, all things being out of order, the queen mother began to find out a mean, how she should diminish the chancellor's power, and augment the governor's, whose authority she assisted; so she passed to Edinburgh, convoyed with a small train. The chancellor received her with gladness, and gave her entree to visit her young Son; and gave command, how oft she pleased to have entree to the castle, that it should be patent to her grace:

but she very craftily dissembled that she came to intercommune with the nobles, alledging, that there was nothing that she hated so much as civil wars and dissension, knowing that great mischief was engendred among the noblemen in the realm; and therefore, with a glad will, she would that all discord were set aside, and peace and unity to be nourished among the lords; and desired also that the king were brought up in the fear of God, and honourably in the sight of the world; for in him lay the only hope and restitution of the commonwealth to its own estate, and punishment of transgressors, for the offences committed at such troublous times; and, to bring these purposes to effect, she promised to employ her whole care and labours to bring all the subjects of the realm to peace and rest. By this, and other such like, words, the chancellor removed all suspicion and hatred out of his mind, which he suspected the queen bare toward him before; so followed such familiarity and kindness betwixt the chancellor and the queen, with her assistants, that she got credence to visit and haunt company with her son, both day and night, without any impediment or stop; while, at the last, spying opportunity and time to fulfil her purpose, when she had such liberty to enter to the castle, she gave the chancellor to understand, that she had made a vow to pass in pilgrimage to the white kirk of Brechin, for the health and prosperous success of her son, desiring a licence to carry away two coffers with her clothes and ornaments forth of the castle; which being granted to her, she inclosed the young king in one of the said coffers, and her clothes in another.

Shortly after, the watchmen and keepers of the place deceived on this manner, she caused certain men, that knew of her purpose, to have some horses ready to carry away the said coffers to the shore of Leith, where the coffers were embarked together with herself; and so she passed forward unto Stirling, and was passed a great part of the water, upward, or ever the keepers could perceive themselves deceived: and when the governor understood the same, he came suddenly

suddenly forth of the castle of Stirling, with all his forces, and received the king and his mother with great joy and gladness, and esteemed the queen highly, that she had attempted so high and weighty a purpose, with great danger of her life, and had brought the same to a prosperous end, both for the welfare of the realm, and the king her son: therefore the governor called all his friends and assistants to a council, upon the third day thereafter, and said to them on this manner.

‘ What troubles, intolerable arrogancy, and how many diverse oppressions, to our great rebuke and shame, we have sustained, hearty friends, every one of you knows perfectly, since Sir WILLIAM CREIGHTON, captain of Edinburgh, was promoted to the chancellory of the realm, and keeping of our prince, for not only he has made the bail lands, pertaining to the king, tributary to him, who is a high officer, but also would have oppressed us with unsufferable tyranny, and so should have usurped all honour, riches and authority, and we had been brought to poverty, shame, and to utter misery, if he had holden forward his wicked purpose and intent. Has he not laboured, ever since, without any punishment of wicked limmers, and perturbers of the common-wealth, to compel all men to obey his charges? Has he not laboured also to set forth and dress all matters, both public and private, like as he had been supreme magistrate, approved by the votes of this realm? Without doubt, if this noble lady our sovereign’s mother, through her wisdom, prudence and virtue, and specially by the favour of almighty God, had not helped us all the sooner, we should have tholed sharp persecution, ere any of us could perceive. She passed to the chancellor in Edinburgh against my will indeed, because I knew his subtilty so well, that he had a marvellous foresight of all kind of suspicion, and of any kind of craft or fraud, that may, in any way, redound to his hurt and damage; yea, with a marvellous conceit, she hath

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taken away her son, and brought him now to us: whereby I understand that the wisest man is not always sickerest, nor yet the hardiest man most happy. Now the chancellor, notwithstanding all his wisdom and foresight, with great shame, hath lost the king, under the colour of whose authority he over-ran every man, like a greedy and unsatiable tyrant, without all regard of order or humanity. Whatever he purposed to do, he set out under the pretence of king, whereby the poor people should take the greater fear and dreadour to disobey him: but now his chance is both foul and miserable, and every man will laugh him to scorn; and, by the contrary to us, we have great honour; and the rather that we have in our hands the king, which we desired above all creatures in the earth. Be of good courage therefore, all the mischief, slaughter, banishment, troubles and vexations, which the chancellor thought to have done to us, let us do the like to him. Let us also take up some men of war, and every man, after his power, send secret messages to his friends, that they may all, that favour us, convene together quietly, in Edinburgh, the third day after this, early in the morning, so that the chancellor shall not know us for to come for the sieging of the castle, while we have the siege even belted about the walls. Forward let us see; so ye shall have subjects to you, all that would have arrogantly oppressed you. I know that we have strength for this effect, if our hearts serve us: but, I say, the peril and the oppression that ye have been in, on the one part, the commodity, freedom and opportunity of time, on the other part, with the great honour and glory that will follow thereupon, should persuade you more than my words can do. We make nothing but a hardiment and courage; chance and fortune, which we think to essay, will supply the rest.

When the governor had said these words, every man, with a glad heart and will, promised to assist him with all their strength; yea, and albeit they

SAID earl of Douglas would concur with the chancellor in their contrary; and the queen promised to furnish the men of war with victuals out of her own girdles, enduring the time of the siege. Attour she said, that no man misstred to take fear of the earl of Douglas, that he would come to support the chancellor, for he hated him so highly, that he wished nothing more than the ruin of the lord CARRINGTON's house, and his posterity to be rooted out utterly. Through this every man took the better courage, and promised to do all things that lay in them, for performing of the governor's command and charge, and thereafter the convention dissolved, and every man past homeward to make him ready to the effect foresaid. But now will we return to our first purpose.

The chancellor perceiving himself so craftily deceived by his foes, and also perceiving that there was no place, almost, to be reconciled with his unfriends, he thought that there was nothing to follow thereupon, in respect of the loss of the king, but utter ruin and destruction of his house, kin, and friends; and therefore took purpose to send a message to ARCHIBALD earl of Douglas, and desire him to have support against the governor and queen, whom he supposed shortly to come to invade him; which, if he would do, he promised faithfully to make the said earl mutual support, and should stand his friend really and truly beyond all others, when it shall chance him to have ado with his enemies.

This message scantily ended, the earl of Douglas, with an insul countenance, answered him again in manner following.

It is but little faith, I think, for me, albeit such mischievous traitors as WILLIAM CARRINGTON and ALEXANDER LIVINGSTON, that you call governor, move war contrary others: and also it becometh not the honourable state of noblemen, to help any of them, albeit ilk one of them had wrecked another, so that there were not such a thing as the memory of any of them hereafter to

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our posterity. As to myself, there is nothing more pleasant to me, than to hear of war and discord betwixt these two unhappy tyrants; and shamefully, where the beginning of their discension is not founded upon a good cause, but upon a shameful and wicked ground. Would God I might see a miserable mischief to befall them both, seeing they have both deserved the same condignly, through their own ambition, falsehood, pride and height: for I know it is the very just judgment of God, that deceitful tyrants, setting their whole purpose and intent upon mischief, and wreck of others, according to their demerits shall be punished in the sight of the world, and specially, seeing they have so oft offended both noblemen and simple men of good life and conversation.

Soon by this the chancellor had received this answer, the governor had belted the siege about the castle, and invaded the same so sharply, that, nothing being provided nor well foreseen in time therefore within the castle, the chancellor took purpose there-through to render the castle in the governor's hands; and, to bring this more easily to effect, he requested the governor, by a herald, to give him two day's notice, that he might come forth to the fields, before the gates, to talk and intercommune with him, upon sundry affairs concerning the commonweal, and also promised by the faith of his body, to shew him that thing which might redound to both their satisfaction, welfare and securities, contrary others that hated them both as one.

The governor, glad of this message, accompanied with a small number of his friends, as were convened betwixt them, went and met the chancellor at the place appointed; where the chancellor revealed the sharp answers of the earl of Douglas, that he had sent to him the time he sought support to eschew the governor's present wrath, saying, 'he wished nothing more, than that ilk one of them should destroy another: wherefore, said he, since this wickedness and evil is equally manifest to us both;

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and, in the mean time, if it shall chance so to continue any further in this feud, it shall redound to his advantage, and to our great dishonour and shame; whereby we two shall be an easy prey to the earl of Douglas, our common enemy; and therefore I would we had regard to the welfare of ourselves and friends. If our dissension have any further progress, it will be manifold more noisome to us, than if we had wars with our own friends; and, as to myself, I remove all rancour of mind, seeking freely, from the bottom of my heart, your peace and kindness, and am content both to render my self and the castle in your hands, under what conditions you please to prescribe to me, willing to be a true faithful servant and subject to the prince, and obedient to yourself so long as you bear the government of this realm, after the advice of the king's counsellors, and yours.

The governor heard thir words very pleasantly, and had good hope of better to follow hereupon, thinking well, that this present discord being put to rest, and the commonwealth put to quietness, he should more easily repress all injuries within this realm, and therefore, with a hearty countenance, he requested the chancellor to be mindful to do as he had said; and if he kept promise truly, he should cut off all the wicked members, perturbers of the commonwealth, and rule the realm, from thence, with great tranquillity and peace. Then, without any further, so soon as he had put himself in the king and governor their wills, and delivered the keys of the castle, in sign and token of the rendering thereof freely, he requested the benevolence of the whole nobility present, for the time, who held him, from thenceforth, not as an enemy, but as a principal pillar of the commonwealth.

After this the governor was received in the castle with great triumph and mirth; and there Sir William Crichton received a gift, again, both of the castle and chancellory, like as he had before; through the which such amity and friendship daily increased betwixt

betwixt the governor and the chancellor, and amongst their friends on every side, that all men supposed the same to endure for ever unbroken.

In the mean time, while the country was waltring to and fro, in this manner, there was no other thing but theft, reif and slaughter, in the south and west of Scotland; for Sir THOMAS BOYD slew ALLAN STUART, lord of Darnly (who, ere he died, obtained the superiority of Lenox from the king,) at Powmathorn, three miles from Falkirk, for old feud which was betwixt them, the third year after the death of king JAMES I. Which deed was soon requitted thereafter; for ALEXANDER STUART, to revenge his brother's slaughter, manfully set upon Sir THOMAS BOYD, in plain battle, where the said Sir THOMAS was cruelly slain, with many valiant men on every side. It was foughten that day so manfully, that both the parties would retire and rest them diverse and sundry times, and recounter again at the sound of the trumpet; while, at the last, the victory inclined to ALEXANDER STUART, as said is; and so the whole south-west of Scotland was divided in two parts, and never took rest, till the decease of ARCHIBALD earl of Douglas, who died in the hot fever at Lestalrig, the year of God 1439. To whom WILLIAM, his son, succeeded, a young man of fourteen years of age, gotten upon MAULD LINDSAY, daughter to the earl of Crawford, whom the said ARCHIBALD married at Dundee sometime, with such triumph and pomp, that never the like was seen at no man's marriage.

This WILLIAM was the sixth belted earl of that house of Douglas. He was a young man of singular good appearance in the beginning; but, alas! the tender youth, if it be not brought up in the fear of God, is so easily corrupted, that it inclines rather to vice than virtue, especially through the mischievous company of harlots and flatterers, which are the most unhappy and wicked pest that ever man, of whatsoever estate and condition he be, may be infected with: For, if this young gentleman had come
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in honest and godly company, without doubt he had been a man of singular good wit and manhood : But he haunted proud and ungodly mens company and counsels, and thereby he, to the great contempt of the king's authority, at all times accompanied above his estate. Where-ever he rode, he was convoyed with a thousand horsemen, at some times two thousand, or more ; amongst whom he maintained a great company of thieves and murderers ; and would bring them to Edinburgh, or any other towns, of set purpose, in the king's fight ; to let him understand his mighty power that he might raise. Attour, he thought himself free from the injuries of all enemies, if he represented the same arrogancy that his father did use before ; and so he not only embraced the whole form and manner of his father's conditions, but also surmounted his pride and height, above the expectation of any man. He decked his household much more than it was before in his father's time ; and also, by the persuasion of flatterers, he conduced sundry wicked tyrants, out of all countries to depend upon him, wherethrough he might be the more dreadful and awful to every man : while, at the last, he took such conceit of himself within his own bounds, through the vain flattery of his dependers, that he thought no man within the realm might be his fellow or companion : For, it is said, he thought but a small matter to make knights ; and therefore, to advance his mighty power, he created senators of the parliament within his own bounds, and held parliament as he had been a king.

Sir JAMES STUART, brother to the lord of Lorn, who had married king JAMES I. his wife, assisted the earl of Douglas, and that through some dissension that was between him and the governor and chancellor. By what occasion they discorded can no man tell. It is supposed, he thought, seeing the country so divided, as said is, to have had some rule in the realm, as well as any other, by reason he had married the king's mother. The governor, to repress Sir JAMES STUART's insolence, took him with his brother,

ther, and cast them both in prison, dreading, if they had resorted long together in the earl of Douglas's company, that he should have greater difficulty to repress their insolence and tyranny. The queen, perceived to be highly commoved and offended at her husband's and his brother's imprisonment, was ward-ed also within the castle of Stirling, by the governor, which was in his own keeping at that time, and detained there, and never was relaxed till there was a convention made of the whole nobility, in whose presence it behoved her to make purgation, that she was free of all mis-rule committed by her husband, nor gave no counsel thereto; and promised, if ever it should chance him, any manner of way, to trouble the realm, or molest any of the subjects, that she should not be participant thereof in time coming. After this the said Sir JAMES and his brother were letten forth at the request of the chancellor; and Sir ALEXANDER SETON, alias GORDON, the first earl of Huntley of that name, obliged and became cautioner, that such enormities, contrary the king and his governor, should not be committed in time coming, under pain of four thousand merks, nor yet to usurp any thing in the commonwealth.

Albeit the governor punished and corrected thir men according to their demerits, yet he punished, with a greater rigour, others, right honourable and ancient men, for small and light suspicion that he took of them, without any decreet or inquisition of their peers; for either he compelled them to compone for themselves, if he suspected them to make any innovation, or else, without any trial of their crime or innocence, they should incur his danger and indignation; which was very hard, in respect he was governor of the realm. Others, that were manifest oppressors, were not only tholed to pass over without any punishment of their wickedness, but also were remitted, although they had committed never so great crimes. This was done without the chancellor's counsel, wherethrough he was highly offended; for he thought well, by this form and fashion of the governor,

vernor, both he and his authority should be condemned, and the commonwealth, without regard, wickedly to be overthrown: but he suppressed the anger of his heart, till he saw better occasion and opportunity of time; and thereby took purpose to pass homeward to Edinburgh, there to contain himself till he was further advised.

All this time, the governor remained, with the king and his mother, in Stirling, and retained a great guard of men of war, as use is in Scotland in all such troublous times, about him; and albeit he understood the chancellor, to be a man of high spirit and courage, not willing to sit with so many wrongs as he had gotten unrevenged, if his power would serve thereto; yet, not the less, in respect he was governor, having the king in keeping, and therefore all the realm would and should obey him, he regarded no man, ruling all things at his pleasure, without any advice and consultation of other nobles in this

When such things were in doing, WILLIAM earl of Douglas sent MALCOLM FLEMING of Cumberland, and ALLAN LAWDER, ambassadors to CHARLES VII. king of France, to give him the dukery of Turine, pertaining to him in heritage, which his grandfire, who was slain at the battle of Verneuil for the defence and liberty of France, joyed and bruiked before; and promised faithfully, that whatsoever was contained in the charter made thereupon, that he should fulfil the same exactly, like as his forebears did before him. CHARLES, moved of great zeal and love that he bare toward the kings of Scotland and their leiges, granted gladly their request and message, and gave to him, and his procurators, the whole rents and lands in France, that his grandfire had before. On the other side, the said earl of Douglas's ambassadors, in his name, gave their oaths of fidelity to the king of France, and his successors, to do all things concerning his part, as said is.

The message, sped with such happy success, as we have shewn to you already, caused this earl of Douglas,

Douglas, being of tender age, to be puffed up with new ambition, and greater pride than he was before, as the nature of youth is: and also the prideful tyrants and flatterers that were about him, through this occasion, spurred him to greater tyranny and oppression, than any man wanted to do before, in any age.

But this oppression and mischief reigned not only in the south-west parts, but also the men of the isles invaded sundry parts in Scotland, at that time, both by fire and sword, and specially the Lenox was wholly overthrown. The principal men of the isles were LAUCHLAN MACLEAN or (MACLEOD) and MURDOCH GIBSON, two notable thieves and murderers. To resist their cruel murderers and traitors, JOHN COLQUHOUN of Luss gathered a company of men, and fought at Lochlomond, beside Inch-merine, where he, being overset with a great multitude of men, was slain, with many of his folks, fighting manfully to death, and few of the men of the isles were slain. At that victory, traitors became so proud and insolent, that they burnt and herried the country where ever they came, and spared neither old nor young, bairns nor wife, but cruelly would burn their houses and them together, if they made any obstacle; or else, if they made no debate, without consideration and pity, would cut their throats, and thereafter carry away their gear and ware, with their wives and bairns, who, not witting of such incursions, were cruelly murdered and flicked in their beds, without any regard of old or young. Thus they raged through the realm, without any respect to God or man.

In this year, which was the year of God, 1439, there arose a great dearth of victuals within this realm, partly because of the labourers of the ground, that might not sow nor win their corns, through the tumults and cumbers in the country; and partly, which was most apparent to be true, it was the very wrath and ire of God, to cause us know ourselves, and, through that scourge, to provoke us to amendment.

ment of life. There reigned also a horrible pest, at that time, in this country; for all men, that were infected therewith, died the same day they took it, without any remedy. Attour, albeit thir three plagues and scourges reigned amongst us, yet, nevertheless, some men made them never to mend their lives, but rather became daily worse; divers others, that complained upon the enormities that they sustained, got little or no redress; wherefore the people began to weary, and curse that ever it chanced them to live in such wicked and dangerous times. It was then whispered throughout the realm, that the governor was the whole cause of all mischief that reigned, for the time, within the realm, alledging, that, since he got the government, every man supposed that he bore greater favour to bloody and mischievous tyrants, than it became him; and, for the hatred that he had to the chancellor, he drew also his assistance and familiarity to the earl of Douglas, and maintained him only for the chancellor's subversion and ruin: but how soon he knew the same perfectly, that every man meant that it should redound to his great hurt, that the governor and the earl of Douglas were confederate, he began to consider, and to pause thereupon very earnestly, and took purpose to do some hardy and witty act, wherethrough he should hazard himself, kin and friends, to be out of this present peril, or else be herried, and peril all for ever; while, at the last, when he had sure knowledge where the king was at his pastime, and what folks convoyed him, by explorators, he, accompanied with certain chosen men, passed his way to the park of Stirling, upon a mirk night, and gave command to his friends to be in readiness, with their whole forces to assist him by the way, and to ly near hand, betwixt Lishgow and Stirling, if he should be pursued by his un-friends; and they that came with himself, to the number of one hundred armed men, to come but in a small company, at diverse passages, to eschew all suspicion that any might conceive concerning the
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purpose, if they had been met upon the morrow in the morning.

The chancellor happened better than any man supposed; for even, at the breaking of the day, the king came out of the castle, to hunt and pass his time, convoyed with a small company of horsemen, as his use was; or ever he could perceive the chancellor's folks lying in wait for him, he was environed and circuited round about with them, who, all together, saluted the king with great reverence and humility; which being done, the chancellor requested his grace affectuously, that he would be so good as to deliver himself forth of that prison, wherein the governor most wickedly detained him, to the great skaith and damage of the commonwealth; exhorted him therefore to pass to Edinburgh, or to any other part of Scotland where he pleased, and he should convoy him forth of all mens danger, against the hearts of all them that would the contrary. At tour, it becometh, saith he, a prince to live freely, empering above others, and not subject to any vassal's correction and chastisement; for that was the well of them that wished his welfare. Thir words being spoken, the king began to smile, where-through they understood the king to be content of their coming, and glad to go with them; and therefore hint his horse by the bridle, and convoyed him to Edinburgh. At this time some of the king's servants and neighbours, that came with him forth, made obstacle and debate; but the governor's eldest son, Sir ALEXANDER LIVINGSTON, forbade them to make any impediment, saying, "it was a vain purpose to strive with so many armed men, and specially where there was no danger; and it was better, at that time to sustain a shame, albeit there was none; and more necessary to give place to their enemy, than to attempt the thing that was far above their strength." It is the law and course of fortune, that he is nearest peril and decay, that sits presently highest upon the wheel; and, by the contrary, he will

will chance to be illustrated and extolled, who, by appearance, is utterly dejected and cast down.

Soon after that the king had taken his way to Edinburgh, there met him then four thousand armed men, to assist him by the chancellor's convoy, if any man would have invaded him, and received him with great joy; so, before that the governor got word, the king was placed in Edinburgh.

In this mean time of the king's taking, it chanced the governor to be a day's journey out of Stirling at that time; but when he got word thereof, he sped to Stirling again with all diligence, right solicitous in his mind, and advised what should be done; for this vexed him more than all the troubles he had before: and he was the more crabbed with himself, being esteemed, with all men within the realm, a man of singular good wit and foresight, that he should have been so negligent and slothful in keeping of the king, whereby his unfriends had great occasion to have him in derision. Attour, he burnt the more for anger within himself, that he was so mischanced in this behalf; he leaving his familiars and friends with the king, who knew nothing of this unhappy fortune that had chanced him, which all his enemies desired above all things both day and night. And also, he believed nothing more than a fallhood among themselves at home, in respect of his enemies facile prey; hour and time so justly kept, and the king's glad departing without any debate or impediment. When he had paused on this manner, up and down, and redargued himself for his slothfulness, he began to advise how he should eschew all danger, present and to come: And considering that it was most unsicker to commit his life and honour in the binding up of bands with the earl of Douglas, who was but a young man, without knowledge and experience of so high and mighty matters, following the counsel of vain greedy flatterers, over-running every man that he might overcome, without either law or reason; through the while, every man, that favoured the commonwealth, esteemed him as a manifest enemy.

nemy, and not a true liege of the realm : And so he thought, that if he would fully leave the chancellor, and others his faithful friends, and colleague with the earl of Douglas, in contempt of the chancellor, who would have wrecked them both before, it were a ready way to cause himself, kin and friends, be despighted and lighted by the whole nobility, and be deprived of his government, to his great dishonour and shame ; at the last, his bairns, kindred and friends wrecked utterly, and himself compelled to leave the realm for ever. Shortly, he consulted with his friends, what they thought fit and best to be done in this matter.

The matter long reasoned too and fro by men of good experience, they thought nothing better, than to dissemble all offences : hat were bygone, with all quarrels and debates, betwixt the chancellor and him, to be set aside, and to be at unity and concord, as they were before. The governor thought this council very good and sweet ; and therefore, beyond all men's expectation, past his way to Edinburgh, accompanied with a small number of folks, and that, namely, by the draught and counsel of two wise, godly and prudent prelates, being in Edinburgh for the time, viz. HENRY LIGHTON bishop of Aberdeen, and JOHN INNES bishop of Morray, who, being both honourable men, entertained as well with the governor as chancellor, in all times bygone, made great labours and travels to bring them to peace and concord, while, at the last, they brought them both together in St. Giles's kirk, void of all company and armor, and accompanied with a small number of their most special friends that were about them ; then the governor began in manner following.

When I was in company, sundry and diverse times, with wise and prudent men, well bescon in histories both old and new, oftentimes I heard them say, that sober goods, with peace and concord, grow ay, more and more, to great substance at the last ; and, by the contrary, right potent men, through a small disension, have been brought to utter

utter wreck and her ship. And not only have we this into ancient histories of other realms, but also we have the experience of the same daily amongst ourselves. What skaith and damage, besides the displeasure of our hearts, which is worst of all, have we both sustained? What loss of goods and gear our familiars and friends have had, since the beginning of our dissension; as I believe, there are living men can tell? For, of truth, we have neither strength nor riches that we had before, nor yet are we in so honourable estate, neither with nobles nor with commons, as we are wont to be in time of concord. Thir civil wars and dissensions make us both odious to the people; and, because it diminishes our fame and honour, which are more precious to us than our lives, I would we took example of the things bygone, and not of the dangers that are to come. I am forsooth the more offended, that we two, to whom the government of this realm is most gairning, and therefore was given to us by the consent of the whole nobility, should be holden as mocking stocks to every man, and esteemed as prideful and ambitious tyrants; and to be only the cause of so great theif, her ship, sleath, reif and slaughter; whereby the whole realm may be an easy prey to our enemies; for they desire nothing more than our dissension, daily beholding till we be both rooted out utterly. Through the which all laws and justice should be contemned; and every man that pleases shall put hand in the king's own person; or else shall abuse all government and authority. Remember therefore, that the nobility has put us in this place, till the king's majesty come to perfect age, to hold this realm in tranquillity on every part; to repress all seditious persons, and defend innocents from the tyrants, for by our dissension the realm is wrecked and betrayed, and not ruled and governed as it should be. I beseech therefore, if thou has love or favour, either to this realm or prince, that thou wilt remove all rancour of heart, wherethrough the commonwealth is wrecked;

ed; and let us be reconciled again to our old friendship that was betwixt us; for friendship is the most happy band that can be made, for welfare of realms and countries; without the which no man, private or public, may be profitable to himself, nor yet to the commonwealth: And therefore, let all injuries be set aside, having the welfare of this realm affixed before our eyes; and, that ye should grant the rather to this my request, I forgive all wrongs done to me, and shall repair all wrongs and offences done by me, at your own pleasure and will. Attour, the king shall remain in thy government and keeping till he come to perfect age, because his father, when he was on life, committed him to thy care and charge; and, as to my own part, I desire no more, but that ilk one of us love another heartfully, as it becometh us to do; and that the nobility, with the commons of the realm, may see and understand us to be faithful governors and magistrates of the same, punishers of trespassers, and maintainers of equity and justice; the which if we do not, but dissent among ourselves, regarding our own private winning more than the welfare of the realm, then our own gear and substance shall vanish away for ever, ourselves, wives and heirs put to wreck; and that which is worst of all, the king shall be in danger, and riot betwixt us; his treasures and riches come to nought; and finally, through our prideful vain ambition, the realm shall be an easy and facile prey to our enemies.

When the governor had said in this manner, the chancellor made answer in manner following.

It is not unknown to all the leiges of this realm, that I detested, in all times bygone, all sedition and wars, setting my whole labours and diligence to eschew the same, after my power; and as to the present discord newly risen amongst us, which is intended through prideful and vain ambition, gladly, with my heart, I would it were so slackened forth, and set aside, that there should not be so much as

“ a spark, or any kind of memory thereof in time coming, lest it should, through small occasion, afterward raise and kindle greater hatred among us. I know perfectly, so long as hatred and discord reigns amongst us, there shall never be grace nor riches within the realm, and therefore I cannot refuse both the thankful and honourable conditions necessary to myself, and also to the welfare of this realm, and specially where they come of free will, not coerced nor compelled, for I desire all mens amity and kindness, and specially of them that are governors of the commonwealth, yet it is not decent that either of us decern upon this matter, nor yet prescribe a form and fashion to the agreement of the present discord; for it is contrary to all reason and law, that any minister law unto himself: beside, that whatever the one decerns, the other shall be miscontented therewith, and complain, that the same was done by all the heads and the talking that was amongst them: necessary it is therefore, I think, for me, that some prudent and witty man, equally for us both, a favourer of the commonwealth, be chosen for both the parties, at whose arbitrement and sentence we shall repair all the offences bygone, with all other things concerning the government of this country; for all men, that have any perfect favour thereto, will not only be careful of his counsel, and spend his goods and gear, but also they will ware their lives to the advancement and welfare of the same; and especially they that are placed above others, as a perfect example for administration of equity and justice.”

Thus all their friends that stood about began to extol and love them both with great thanksgiving, that both they regarded the commonwealth so much, and preferred the same to all private quarrels and debates. Then both the said parties were compromit, by their oaths, to stand at the deliverance of the arbitrators chosen by them both, who shortly brought them both to unity and concord; and, finally, were so friendly conse-

confederate, that neither of them appeared ever to fail to another again.

Shortly after there was a parliament sat at Edinburgh, to make statutes for repairing the commonwealth to its old estate. At this parliament many and innumerable complaints were given in, whereof the like were never seen before; there were so many widows, bairns and infants, seeking redress for their husbands, kindred and friends, that were cruelly slain by wicked bloody murderers; siklike, many for her-ship, theft and reif, that there was no man but he would have ruth and pity to hear the same. Shortly, murther, theft and slaughter, were come in such dalliance among the people, and the king's acts came in such contempt, that no man wist where to seek refuge, unless he had sworn himself a servant to some common murderer, or bloody tyrant, to maintain him contrary the invasion of others, or else had given largely of his gear to save his life, and give him peace and rest.

But when the lords of parliament had consulted long, how, and in what manner, matters should be amended and repaired, and also perceiving the earl of Douglas to be a principal cause of all wicked enormities and mischiefs; and, by reason of his riches, kindred and friends, they could not repress his tyranny by strength nor might; they therefore wrote pleasant writings to him, purposing to cut him off by slight, subtilty and craft, requesting, right affectionously, the said earl and his brother to come in for assistance of the commonwealth, which, without him, his kindred and friends could not be goodly ruled; for, since they obtained from the guiding of the same, it was utterly wrecked and come to nought. Such coloured and painted words they sent to this young nobleman to draw him in the snare, albeit they intended nothing more than his destruction and ruin; so the earl being given to conquest, glory and honour to himself, and to his friends (and namely he not understanding such fair coloured words, 'That nothing could be done without him and his kin-
dred

‘dred and friends’) and also, upon the other part, by the information of some avaritious courtiers, and greedy flatterers that depended upon him, having regard to their own privy profit more than to their master’s fame and honour, he took purpose to obey the letters, and came forward to the king to Edinburgh, accompanied with his brother DAVID, whom he never suffered to pass a foot-breadth from himself, and others his most honest friends, believing no falshood to bechance him afterward, in respect of the hearty messlage that came to him by the magistrates and lords of parliament.

When this earl was coming forward on this way, as is declared, the chancellor, on set purpose, rode forth to meet him, to remove all suspicion of falshood out of the earl’s mind, and requested him very earnestly to ride to Creighton with him, and to pass his time for a day or two. To which the earl of Douglas consented very gladly, and remained two days, very well treated and entertained, with his kindred and friends; where the chancellor swore, by his great oath and holy sacraments, that there was no man in Scotland, except the king’s majesty, that he favoured so well as the earl of Douglas, and would esteem him, from thenceforth, equally with the governor of the realm. This young gentleman, fostered with such flattery, was allured to pass to Edinburgh. The chancellor, as he that had no privy deceit nor malice latent in his mind, said, with a hearty countenance, in this manner.

‘Seeing so it is, that the king hath given and granted to you the largest riches and puissance of any others your friends and neighbours, I will exhort you with all my heart (as him whose house, kindred and friends are more dear to me than all the rest of Scotland, mine own excepted) to stand obedient to the king’s laws and statutes, which it pleases the eternal God to reign above us at this time; and remember, the high fortune you are promoted to, the great dependance of vassals, and land and man-rents, with other great strength and

' power, which needs not to be reckoned at this
 ' time, are not come to you, that you should be more
 ' insolent thereof, thinking thereby to oppress infe-
 ' riors, or yet misken the magistrates appointed by
 ' the pleasure of God, and the consent of the nobi-
 ' lity; but rather, if the king hath given you all
 ' thir foresaids, of his own benevolence and pleasure,
 ' it becomes you to have him in all honour and reve-
 ' rent obedience to his charge and pleasure, and, a-
 ' bove all things, to defend the commonwealth, not
 ' regarding of land and goods for maintaining of the
 ' same in peace and rest; therefore cause all enormi-
 ' ties and crimes, committed heretofore, to be re-
 ' founded and remended within your bounds, and
 ' suffer not the poor people to be overcome and rest
 ' by strong and mischievous tyrants, nor stop no man
 ' to be brought to the king, that is a manifest tres-
 ' passer or a limmer, but, on the contrary, minister
 ' justice equally within your bounds, as becomes you;
 ' and thereafter, not only thole others to be punish-
 ' ed, but also to come with your whole power and
 ' strength to bring all wicked butchers, and manifest
 ' oppressors of the poor, to be adjudged, and thole
 ' condignly according to the laws; otherwise it will
 ' redound to your great dishonour, hurt and thame,
 ' to the wreck and hership of your goods and gear;
 ' and that which is worst of all, to the utter extirpa-
 ' tion of your house, kindred and friends; of the
 ' which since I favour you so well, I would not ye
 ' were the author; nor yet that you should obscure
 ' nor blot the honourable facts of martial deeds, and
 ' the honour in civil government which your forbears
 ' conquered to their posterity.'

The young gentleman being of good inclination
 (if he had been well accompanied) took the chancel-
 lor's admonition in good part, promising to repair
 all things that he had counselled, and to obey and
 serve the king's majesty with due honour and reve-
 rence; but knew nothing of the chancellor's fraud
 and guile, who thought that this realm should be in
 greater

greater tranquillity, if the earl of Douglas and his brother had been cutted off suddenly.

After this they came to Edinburgh, without any understanding what was devised for their destruction. Some men judged that no good was to come of this journey, and that through the frequent messages both coming and going betwixt the governor and chancellor, and therefore gave counsel, that none of them should enter, at that time, into the castle of Edinburgh, or, at least, if he entered, best it were to send his brother DAVID back again home, and not to break their father's counsel, who inhibited them, that they should never pass both together where there was any appearance of danger, fraud or guile, lest it should be the wreck of themselves and house. The earl gave no credit to such conjectures, saying he had experience of the governor's and chancellor's faith and loyalty in such cases; and, as to the chancellor, he had so entertained and treated him, that he could dread no evil and falshood at his hands; yet such quiet rumours spread through the whole company, that caused Sir DAVID DOUGLAS to persuade the earl, his brother, to turn homeward again, dreading some mischief to fall upon this hasty friendship: For the which the earl reproved his brother very sharply, saying it was not decent for him to give ear to such vain unhappy flatterers, who were the very occasion of all dissension and discord among noblemen, so long as they had place; and therefore gave command, with right sharp, threatening and bragging words, that no man in his company meant such thing, let be to speak the same. But behold here a notable case, and worthy to be marked; the nearer that any man be to a peril or mischief, he runs the more headlong thereto, and hath no grace to hear them that give him counsel to eschew the danger.

The earl of Douglas being a young nobleman of good inclination, wiser perchance than any other of equal age with him, would neither give ear to his goodwillers and favourers, nor yet was he content with them that gave the counsel to turn homeward.

again, but reprov'd them highly; wherethrough sundry noblemen, with sad, driry and quiet countenance followed him, and durst not speak any further. It may be well said of this man, that safety itself, albeit it would, could not preserve this man from destruction; and so this man, posting to his death, without further delay, spurreth his horse, and came forward to Edinburgh, and entered into the castle; where, by outward countenance, he was received with great joy and gladness, and banquetted royally, with all delicatcs that could be gotten; and ever that he should take no suspicion of any deceit to follow thereupon. Then, at the last, many of the earl's friends being scaled off the town, and opportunity serving, with consent and advice of the governor, who came then, of set purpose, to Edinburgh, when the dinner was finished, and all the delicate courses taken away, the chancellor presented a bull's head before the earl of DOUGLAS, which was a sign and token of condemnation to the death; but the earl and his brother beholding this manifold treason, with sad mind and driry countenance, start up from the board, and made to leap at some place where they might anywise get out; but then, from hand, a company of armed men rushed out round about them, who, breaking all hospitality, lead them to the Castle-hill, with Sir MALCOLM FLEMING of Cumbernauld, and other gentlemen their assisters and familiars, and shook their heads from them. This was done in the year of God, one thousand four hundred and forty years. It is said, the king, being of ten years then, lamented and wept very sore, when he saw the men of war bind the earl's hands and his brother's with cords; and prayed the chancellor, for God's sake to let them alone, and save their lives for any pleasure that he would desire him; and therefore the chancellor boasted the king right sharply, saying, ' that it was
' for no privy hatred that he bare toward the earl of
' Douglas, and his favourers and friends, that he
' should thole the death that day, according to his
' deserving, but because he was a plain enemy to the
king's

king's person, and a manifest traitor to the commonwealth; and so long as they were on life, the realm would never be at peace and rest; but, if they were cut off, the country should be at greater tranquillity. Then, from hand, thir gentlemen were hurled forth and execute, as said is.

From thenceforth the realm was at somepart quieter, for a certain time, than it was before; albeit, not long after this WILLIAM, succeeded his uncle JAMES, father-brother to this WILLIAM, of Anandale, and lord Balveny, who was called Gross JAMES, because that he was corpulent and grown of body; for this WILLIAM had no bairns of his body, nor brother to succeed him.

This JAMES was the seventh earl of Douglas, and was no less hated by the lieges of this realm than any of his predecessors; because that, within short space, slaughter and hership reigned as fast in his days, and especially within his bounds, as ever it did before; not that he maintained any thieves and murderers, but because he punished them not; for he thought ever to have excused himself with his grownness and ianability. Others thought, that, albeit he had never risen out of his bed, he should have had such men about him, at his command, as should have suppressed all oppression and murder within his bounds: But he lived not long; for he deceased not long after at Abercorn, the third year after he was made earl.

This JAMES had seven sons, to whom the eldest succeeded by tailie of the lands of the earldom of Douglas; but the lands that were not tailed, fell in heritage to a sifter of the said WILLIAM, viz, the lands of Galloway; and therefore she was called, the Fair Maiden of Galloway. There fell also to her, Wigtoun, Anandale, Balveny and Ormond: And it is to be understood, that this JAMES, called Gross JAMES, followed the inclination of many others, greedy to conquest greater rents to his posterity than he had himself; thinking it was wickedness to divide the old heritage of a house; and, by the contrary, it was wisdom to amplify the dominions left

by the forebears, and therefore to couple all thir lands foresaid in one another: And, to that effect, procured the pope's dispensation to marry his eldest son upon his brother's daughter, sister to the said WILLIAM. By this cause, without doubt, the whole lands should be united in one; yet, notwithstanding, the rest of the Douglasses scunnered, thinking the marriage to be unlawful; also they thought that over great lands and riches were odious to be under a king, which, within short time, should be the extirpation of the surname, and rooting forth perpetually of the house. The principal of the DOUGLASSES that dissuaded this marriage and annexation of the lands, were, the earl of Angus, and Sir JOHN DOUGLAS of Dalkieth, knight, both descended of the earl of Douglas's house: When one hath over meikle gear, either it provoketh the possessor thereof to attempt some ungodly purpose; or else, for a little crime, or a light suspicion that kings and princes take of them, sometimes they are brought to utter destruction and confusion. But this earl JAMES, named Gros JAMES, was nothing moved with their words; and also, understanding that the king himself was to put inhibition to this marriage betwixt his son and his brother's daughter, he hastened the same with greater diligence, not sparing the time forbidden, as was the use then, and caused solemnize the band of matrimony. Wherefore the people, moved with scrupulosity, judged and said, that such-a marriage could never be prosperous and happy, which was of truth, and the people not beguiled of this opinion. Many neighbours feads arole in every part, and that the rather by this WILLIAM, son to the said JAMES, or else by his assisters; and namely by JOHN GORMACK an Athole-man, one of the principal sworn tyrants to the earl of Douglas, who, with a great company of bloody butchers set upon Sir WILLIAM RUTHVEN of that ilk, sheriff-principal of Perth, to have slain himself, and rest a brigand-thief of Athole from the king's justice, whom the sheriff would have judged: But this Sir WILLIAM RUTHVEN, seeing the danger came so suddenly

denly upon him, was much abased, and prayed his friends, and gentlemen that were with him for the time, to take a good part with him, and not to thole themselves to be murdered with a meinzie of unmerciful thieves. And it was so long foughten with doubtful chance, till at last the sheriff was victor, and JOHN GORMACK, with thirty of his company, manfully slain upon mid-summer, one thousand four hundred and forty three years.

Short while after this combat, there followed another at Dumbarton, to no less damage to the country than the other was. ROBERT SEMPLE and PATRICK GALBRAITH, deputes to the king's self (who then was fourteen years of age, having the governance of this realm in his own hand) to keep the castle of Dumbarton as principals, began to strive amongst themselves, which of them should be principal captain thereof; and when they could not agree with words, they pulled out swords, and fought right cruelly, till, at the last, ROBERT SEMPLE was slain, and then PATRICK GALBRAITH, being very familiar with the earl of Douglas, took the castle in keeping without any further delay. The earl of Douglas began to muse upon the slaughter, how that he was judged the principal mover of both the combats, through all the realm, and at court, thinking there could come no good of these things at last, when the king's majesty came to perfect age, if he amended not in time; and therefore took purpose to pass to the king in Stirling to get a remission of all things, and begin to live a better life in time coming. So, being accompanied with a great number of folks, passed to the king in Stirling, and there, at the first coming, fell upon his knees, and put himself, and all that he had, in the king's will, desiring remission of faults committed by him, and that he might have licence to wait upon his majesty, but as the soberest courtier in his majesty's company; which, if he would do of his gracious mercy, he promised to be as serviceable as any man within the realm; and also swore the great oath, that he should pursue all thieves and

and brigands at the uttermost of his power. The king, with great humanity of this nobleman, offering himself willingly in the King's hands, not only remitted his offences, but also made him principal of his secret council, and used him most familiar of any man a long time thereafter. This WILLIAM, being familiar with the King, bore himself very pleasantly to every man, and did nothing but that which appeared to all men to be well done for the welfare of the country: so, creeping piece and piece in the king's conceit, tarried upon opportunity of time to be revenged upon his enemies, and namely upon Sir WILLIAM CREIGHTON chancellor, who so mischantly had put down his eames, WILLIAM earl of Douglas, and DAVID his brother.

While the earl appeased his anger on this wife, the chancellor, perceiving that he was offended with him, denuded himself of the chancellory, and passed his way with his kindred and friends, to Edinburgh, thinking that he might most easily, being in the castle, eschew the danger and injuries that the earl of Douglas was preparing for him; and furnished the castle with ammunition, men and victuals, strongly. It is to be understood, that not this gentleman alone feared the earl of Douglas, but also the governor, dreading him in the same manner, denuded himself of all offices and charges that he bare, except the keeping of the castle of Stirling, and departed hastily out of the court. Then the earl of Douglas, by whose moyen and convey the whole realm and court was guided, thinking he had sufficient time and opportunity to revenge all injuries done to his friends before, caused summon Sir WILLIAM CREIGHTON, sometime chancellor, Sir ALEXANDER LIVINGSTON, sometime governor, with his two sons, Sir ALEXANDER and Sir JAMES, knights, all, by an herald, to underly the law for such crimes as the king's majesty was to lay to their charge; with certification, that if they compeared not, they should be denounced traitors to our sovereign's highness. Besides this, he thought, if they compeared, that he should get

get his will of them. Their noblemen being summoned, as said is, wrote again an answer to the king, devised by all their consents, saying, ' There was nothing more dear to them than the welfare of the king's person, and the stability of this realm, ready with such obedience and services as became subjects to their prince; but because they knew the deadly enemies, who ruled the realm, working all to their confusion and utter ruin, likely to obtain their wicked intent, partly through the great favour that the king bore to the earl of Douglas, and partly through his great puissance, they should be overthrown if they came in: Therefore it was expedient for them to give place, and flee the fury of their enemies, till all injuries were set at rest and increased, and the commonwealth in tranquillity and peace, and then they should do such honour and reverence as became them duly for the welfare of the realm; for it is very unlikely to commit themselves to this present danger, which they knew perfectly to come in. Attour, as to the king's commandment and charge, it was thought unworthy that maintainers of thieves and murderers, being surrogated in their places, who were constitute and called to the government of the realm by the votes of the lords of parliament, ruled the same with the favour of all good men, till now that the king's majesty, destitute of such noblemen, favourers of the commonwealth, by the counsel of potent and ambitious tyrants, laboured daily to promote all mischievous tyrants to honours and dignities, to the heavy danger of the commonwealth, and dreadful terror of the king's lieges of the realm.'

How soon the earl of Douglas perceived their high contempt of his authority, he caused proclaim a parliament to be holden at Stirling, where the foresaid persons were forfeited and denounced rebels to the crown; and gave charge to Sir JOHN FORRESTER of Corstorphin, for to in-bring all their moveables to the king's use, which were escheated. After this all men were charged to pass forward with displayed banner,

banner, by open proclamation, to invade thir men as common traitors to the crown ; and also an army of men being gathered, they sieged the castle of Creighton in Lothian, which was rendered from hand so soon as they saw the king's standard ; and the men were letten pass bag and baggage, and the castle casten down to the ground. To revenge these injuries, Sir WILLIAM CREIGHTON collected a great army of his kindred and friends, and first burnt the whole lands of Corskorphin, and convoyed away the goods and gear that might be gotten : and thereafter invaded the earl of Douglas's land with fire and sword, and burnt all the corns and corn-yards, villages and towns, where ever he came ; and sicklike he did in the lands of Abercorn, and the town of Blackness, with the castle thereof, and carried away great preys of horse, sheep and nolt, but of all their towns. But the earl of Douglas perceived the chancellor bolstered by his friends to his heavy damage and strait ; amongst whom he suspected JAMES KENNEDY bishop of St. Andrews, sister-son to king JAMES I. He therefor sent writings to the earl of Crawford and ALEXANDER OSSELVY of Innerquharity, two special courtiers, his friends, to make her ship upon the bishop's lands ; and if they might apprehend himself quick, to keep him in prison within irons, till further advertisement.

This charge they fulfilled, and herried not only the bishop's lands, but also the whole lands adjacent thereto, and brought great preys of goods out of Fife to Angus. As for the bishop, he contained himself in safeguard, thinking it became him not to be a fighter : But yet he thought it expedient to use his own authority upon such as invaded him, as said is ; and therefore summoned the earl of Crawford, and led upon him a sentence of cursing, for his contempt of the censures of holy kirk ; which the earl lightly vilipended, as a thing of no strength, without fear of God and man. But not long after, when the earl was labouring very diligently to reconcile his son ALEXANDER LINDSAY, and ALEX-

ANDER

ANDER OGILVY forefaid, to the old friendship kept betwixt their friends before, he was slain, as shall be shewn hereafter. His son ALEXANDER LINDSAY occasioned this discord that fell betwixt them for the bailiary of Aberbrothock, which pertained to ALEXANDER LINDSAY; but ALEXANDER OGILVY, whether it came of his own ambition, or if it was the abbot's pleasure, it is not certain, but he usurped the bailiary to himself, and put this ALEXANDER from the same. Wherefore being, on this way, robbed of his right, he gathered a company of his friends, and specially the Hamiltons, who assisted him for the time, and came forward with displayed banner, and arrayed battle, to Aberbrothock, to take the same again by force: ALEXANDER OGILVY also gathered a great company, among whom was ALEXANDER then earl of Huntley; which being shewn to the earl of Crawford, being in Dundee for the time, willing to stop all mischief that might befall his friends, he came unto them in all haste. Scantly was he well come, when both the armies were ready to join and shock together; yet he stopped his son ALEXANDER to make any onset, and when he was coming in proper person toward ALEXANDER OGILVY's folks, to talk and to intercommune friendly in all debates betwixt his son and them, a soldier, not knowing what he was, and wherefore he came, struck him at the mouth with a spear, and throughout the neck, and he died incontinent, in good action, labouring to put Christian men to peace and rest, and conquest a good commendation of all men, albeit he was very insolent all the rest of his lifetime. Which when his son and friends beheld, they were so enraged, that they suddenly rushed upon their enemies in great ire: But they, upon the other side, resisted the press, and held their adversaries right manfully off for a long time, till, at the last, the laird of Innerquharity, principal, was deadly wounded, and another great part of the most valiant men in the throat of the battle slain: They gave the backs; and, in the fleeing, many of them were slain; amongst whom was JOHN FORBES

of

of Pittligo, ALEXANDER BARCLAY of Gartley, JAMES MAXWELL of Telling, DUNCAN CAMPBELL of Calder, WILLIAM GORDON of Burrowfield, all Barons, and diverse other gentlemen. And there were an hundred slain upon the other side. The earl of Huntley, being destitute of his folks on this manner, horsed himself, and fled away to save his life in Innerquharity : but he was taken, and brought living to Finhaven, where he died within short time thereafter, by a stroke he had got on the side. The morn thereafter the gentleman was honourably buried in the church-yard. This battle was stricken in the year of God, one thousand four hundred and forty-five years.

After this there followed nothing but slaughter in this realm, every party ilk one lying in wait for another, as they had been setting tinchills for the slaughter of wild beasts. Among whom ROBERT BOYD of Duchal, captain of Dumbarton, lay in wait for JAMES STUART of Auchmynto, who was but sixteen men in train ; and shortly, or ever JAMES STUART had knowledge that any man unbeset his gate, a company of armed men rushed out about him, and slew him cruelly, a little piece from Kirkpatrick ; and thereafter from hand, took his wife out of her own house, and brought her captive to Dumbarton, and by the convoy of a priest, who falsely promised, that she would thole no skaith. But when she perceived herself mocked in this manner, through high displeasure of her husband's slaughter, she parted with a dead bairn, and died herself the third day thereafter.

In this mean time ARCHIBALD DUMBAR sieged the castle of Hales in Lothian ; and, at the first assault, he wan the same, and slew them all that he found therein. But shortly thereafter he was sieged by JAMES DOUGLAS, in whose will he put himself and castle, without any further debate. Innumerable slaughter was made this year in Anandale, where the people has ever been, and yet are given to nothing more than to slaughter.

Shortly

Shortly thereafter mischief reigned so common in all parts, that many gentlemen of this realm, seeing there was no regard of the king, nor the earl of Douglas's forces, who was the principal guider of the court, contained themselves and friends within strong fortresses, and left their goods, that might not be kept within a strength, to thieves and robbers, to take them as they thought good, thinking, if they saved themselves, they had sufficient, till a better fortune.

In the next year thereafter, the king, by the earl of Douglas's counsel, sieged the castle of Edinburgh nine months altogether: but at the last, Sir WILLIAM CREIGHTON rendered the castle upon thir conditions, 'that he, and all that assisted him, should have remissions for all offences bygone, and he himself to be reconciled in the king's favour after his old manner.' The castle being rendered, as said is, was reformed again of new, better than it was before. Soon thereafter a parliament was set to be holden at Perth; in the which Sir WILLIAM CREIGHTON was received again to the king's favour, and made chancellor again of new, by the consent of the whole parliament; yet he meddled not with any public affairs, expecting a better time, till he should have been purged by an assize from all kind of suspicion concerning the king's majesty.

In the same year Sir JAMES STUART, knight, who married the king's mother, was banished; because he spake sometimes rashly, that the realm was evil guided; which redounded to the defamation of the earl of Douglas. This Sir JAMES, within short time thereafter, was taken upon the sea by the Flemings, with some earls both of Scotland and England, and led captive to Flanders, where he died within short time thereafter; and also his wife, king JAMES II. his mother, died shortly after him, hearing of her husband's decease; and was buried in the charterhouse of St. Johnstoun, beside her first husband king JAMES I. to whom she bore eight bairns. Of the which there were but two sons, king JAMES II. now
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king, the other called ALEXANDER, who died an infant ; and six daughters. The first, called MARGARET, was married upon the dauphin of France, called LEWIS XI. son to CHARLES VII. The second, dame ELENORA, married upon the duke of Bretaign. The third upon the lord of Campvere, and thereafter upon ~~the lord of the island of~~ The fourth upon the duke of Austria, and thereafter upon

The fifth upon the earl of Huntley, called GEORGE, upon whom he begat a daughter, who was married upon the earl of Arrol, and then parted with her by the king her brother's consent ; and thereafter the earl GEORGE married the earl of Arrol's daughter, of whom came earl ALEXANDER, earl ADAM of Sutherland, with diverse others. The sixth married upon the earl of Mortoun. The queen bore to Sir JAMES STUART three sons ; JOHN, who was the earl of Athole, JAMES of Buchan, called Hearty JAMES ; the third ANDREW bishop of Murray.

Short while hereafter Sir WILLIAM CREIGHTON chancellor, by the convoy of CHARLES VII. king of France, was sent to spouse MARGARET the duke of Guelder's daughter, to be brought home to wife to king JAMES II. The gentlewoman was granted very gladly, and honourably conveyed by the lord of Campvere, marquis of Berg, earl of Nassau, the bishop of Cambray, and the bishop of Luig ; attour there came a prince out of Ravenstein, with divers other noble knights and squires. The marriage being solemnized, there was a parliament holden at Edinburgh ; at the which, by the counsel of some ambitious flatterers, Sir ALEXANDER LIVINGSTON of Callendar, sometime governor, ALEXANDER his eldest son, ROBERT LIVINGSTON treasurer, and DAVID LIVINGSTON, both descended of the house of Callendar, JAMES DUNDAS, and ROBERT BAUCE of Clackmanan, knights, were taken, notwithstanding that they were reconciled with the king's majesty, and had to diverse places, and casten in prison. Albeit the nobility and lords of parliament requested the king

king to relax them ; yet the high hatred, that the courtiers had conceived against them, so prevailed over all supplication, law or reason, that they were kept close in irons till the seventh day of December ; and, on the eighth day brought to Edinburgh, where ALEXANDER LIVINGSTON, sometime governor, JAMES DUNDAS and ROBERT BRUCE, paid great sums of money, and thereafter were warded in Dumbarton, and the rest were headed. It is said, that this ALEXANDER, when he was upon the scaffold, turned him to the people, and made a singular good oration, ‘ declaring the mutability and unstableness of fortune, exhorting all gentlemen and nobles of this realm to take an example by him, of the fragility of this world. At sometime his father was chosen governor of this realm, and where he himself bore some charges so prosperously, and with so great commendation of all men, that his father loved him above all treasures ; yet through change of the court, his father, himself and friends, were so sharply pursued that they were forced to strengthen for the defence of their lives, and preserving themselves to better fortune ; till, at the last, their innocence was tried, they were in a manner restored to the king’s favours, which endured not long : For, short while after, by flattering courtiers, they were warded again. Now his father warded, himself adjudged, not by neutral men of sincere and good conscience, but by his deadly enemies, to undergo a shameful death, as he had been a traitor : And therefore desired all noblemen not to desire great offices in the court, albeit they appeared both honourable and commodious : for they that are promoted to the highest places, when they slide, they get the greatest fall. And, when they are put down, if they be loved on the one part, by good men, for their worthy behaviour, they shall be reproached, on the other part, by the wicked and ungodly men.’ Thir words being said, he fell upon his knees, and stretched forth his craig to the

sword. A lamentable sight to behold ! and was beheaded, to the great displeasure of all the people.

In the year following the queen parted with a bairn, but no man knew by what reason ; the bairn was born quick, and deceased within short space thereafter. In the same year the royal walls of Dumfermline being casten down, there was a body of a young child found in a cape of lead, wompled up in sandal, as fresh, incorrupted, and of as vive colour as the first hour it was buried. It was judged by them that were curious of old antiquities, to be a son of queen MARGARET, who deceased in his infancy.

Attour, the peace and truce taken with England expired the same year ; and therefore the Scots made diverse incursions and roads in England, wasting all with fire and sword wherever they came. The earl of Shrewsbury, lieutenant and warden for the time upon the English border, to revenge thir injuries again, invaded Scotland upon the west borders, on the one part, and burnt Dumfries, with diverse other towns, and returned home again with good prey of goods and bestial. And also the earl of Northumberland, on the other part, came upon the east borders, and burnt and herried Dumbar in the same year. Sir GEORGE DOUGLAS, brother to the earl of Douglas, not willing to be in an English-man's commoun for an evil turn, gathered a company of chosen men, and burnt the town of Anwick ; out of the which he gathered a great prey, both of men and goods, ere he returned in Scotland. But the prisoners of both the realms were interchanged, and rendred again, man for man, on both sides. Such hership was made at this time, on every side, that both the realms were constrained to take peace for seven years to come.

In the mean time, when such things were in doing, the earl of Douglas, having the whole guiding of the court, laboured daily to promove his friends to honour and dignity ; and obtained from the king the ward and marriage of ANNES DUNBAR, youngest daughter to JAMES last earl of Murray of that surname, to ARCHIBALD DOUGLAS his brother ; and so made him

him earl of Murray. This JAMES deceased without any heirs male of his body; and so the lands came to the female by donation of the king. This WILLIAM earl of Douglas, not content of this augmentation to his house, promoted JOHN his brother to the lordship of Balveny, and GEORGE DOUGLAS to the earldom of Ormond, in parliament; who were also chosen and declared principal counsellors of the realm. But sundry suspected, that this sudden access to that felicity should have a short decay; for since they saw the earl of Douglas so covetous, given to make up his friends, and so immediately to promote them to lands and lordships, for the strengthening of his own house, wherethrough they should make a bar to the king's self, if there chanced any walter of court; and thereupon every man judged that sudden and prosperous success should have a short end.

But now, since it hath chanced us to speak of the translation of the house of Murray from the Dunbars to the Douglasses, I think it expedient to speak of the diversity of surnames that have joyed the same with great laud and praise, since king ROBERT I. even unto this present time, who bare themselves right wisely and manfully both in peace and war.

In old times ROBERT THE BRUCE gave the earldom of Murray to his own sister's son, Sir THOMAS RANDAL of Stradown, knight; chief of the clan Allan; whose works can testify his life in the fourteen book, rehearsed before in this same history, and failing of him, and heirs of his body, that it should return again to the crown. This THOMAS had two sons, but I cannot tell who was their mother. The eldest called THOMAS, who succeeded to his father's place; the other called JOHN; who, without any succession of their bodies, were both slain at the battle of Duplin in Strathern, fighting manfully to the death, for the defence of this realm, invaded by the Englishmen, our old enemies. He also had two daughters; of whom the eldest was called Black ANNES, by reason she was black-skinned. This ANNES was a woman of greater spirit than it

became a woman to be, who was married upon PATRICK earl of March. The second was called GILES, and was married upon JOHN brother to the earl of March; and bore to him GEORGE, who succeeded to his father-brother heritably in the earldom of March; and another son called JOHN, a man of singular virtue and beauty. This JOHN, for his virtue and manhood, was married upon king ROBERT II. his daughter, and promoted to be earl of Murray; for it is returned in again to the king's house, by reason that it failed in the heir's male of RANDAL. And this was the first Dunbar that bruiked the lands of Murray, who begat THOMAS DUNBAR who succeeded to his father; and another named ALEXANDER DUNBAR, who married MAULD FRASER, succeeded in his place. This was the sixth earl of Murray, who was also laird of Frendracht. This JAMES begat upon ISOBEL INNES, daughter to the laird of Innes, ALEXANDER DUNBAR, a man of singular wit and courage. This ISOBEL was but hand-fast with him, and deceased before the marriage; where-through this ALEXANDER he was worthy of a greater living than he might succeed to by the laws and practices of this realm. After this ISOBEL's decease, this JAMES earl of Murray married KATHARINE, lawful daughter to ALEXANDER SETON, as is supposed, the first earl of Huntley called Gordon, who bore to him two daughters. The first was married upon Sir WILLIAM CREIGHTON, heir to the said lord Creighton foresaid, and got with her the land of Frendracht in tocher. The youngest was married upon ARCHIBALD earl of Douglas's brother, who was promoted to the earldom of Murray, as said is: But this ARCHIBALD being convicted and forfeited for lese-majesty, the earldom returned to the king's hands again.

But let us return to our purpose and history. This WILLIAM earl of Douglas being insolent through the promotion of friends, began to maintain so many as were plain flatterers, and allowed his doings, or were ready at his command, to execute such mischief

as was his pleasure. He promoted them, yea, many of them from base estate, to great riches and dignity above their degrees; but whatsoever he was so hardy as to reproach his doings, (for it gainstood some mens conscience) how soon it came to his ears, he caused them to be adjudged to underly the law; where he, being judge and party, spoiled them sakelessly of their lives. And, by the contrary, so many as depended upon him, albeit they had been never so guilty, they were overseen, or else he got them free respites and remissions for all offences; wherethrough they been boldened up by such licentious prerogatives above others, they put no difference betwixt wrong and right. Oppression, ravishing of women, theft, sacrilege, and all other kinds of mischief, were but a dalliance: So that it was thought leisom to a dependor on a Douglas to slay or murder; for so fearful was their name, and terrible to every innocent man, that, when a mischievous limmer was apprehended, if he alledged that he murdered and slew at a Douglas's command, no man durst present him to justice.

Through this unequal punishment of innocents, and great favour that he bore to tyrants and malefactors, every man began to hate his cruelty; for he regarded nothing the love nor favour of the people; but he gloried to be dreaded of all. To thief and reaver he was a sicker targe; and, by the contrary, a plain enemy to good men; thinking that it was a great pleasure to spoil them of their lives, and whom ever he favoured not, without all equity and law. Also he spoiled all kirks and chapels wherever he came, and converted the jewels thereof to his profane use and profit. So all good men behoved to keep silence, and durst not cry out upon his tyranny.

At this time JAMES KENNEDY bishop of St. Andrews, a man of singular virtue and prudence, held himself very quiet, waiting upon a better fortune, thinking that this great cruelty that was exercised should have a sudden end.

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This time fell a horrible case to JOHN CAMERON bishop of Glasgow, principal ruler of the prince and court to all mischief, and innocent slaughter done in their troublous times. A marvellous example to all mortal men to withdraw themselves from all wicked counsel, abuse, and wicked tyranny: For he counselled them to exercise all such scaithing and oppression upon the realm, as he had done himself upon the poor tenants of Glasgow. So that when the divine power of God had permitted him to over-run and scourge the people, on this ways, for a certain space, he thought to put an end to his wicked tyranny: At the last, on Yule-even, when he was sleeping, there came a thunder and voice out of heaven, crying
'and summoning him to the extreme judgment of
'God, where he should give an account and reckon-
'ing of all his cruel offences, without further de-
'lay.' Through this he wakened forth of his sleep, and took fear of the novelty of such things, unknown to him before: But yet he believed this to be no other but a dream, and no true warning for amendment of his cursed life; yet he called for his chamber-chiels, and caused them to light candles, and to remain a while beside him, till he recovered the fear and dreadour that he had taken in his sleep and dreaming: But by he had taken a book, and read a little while, the same voice and words were heard with no less fear and dreadour than was before; which made them that were present at that time about him, to be in dread; so that none of them had a word to speak to another, thinking no less than sudden mischief hastily to befall them all; and, from hand, the third time, the same words were more uglyly cried than before. This bishop rendered his spirit hastily, at the pleasure of God, and shot out his tongue most wildly, as he had been hanged upon a gallows. A terrible sight to all cruel oppressors and murderers of the poor. But, alas! the wicked ingyne of man, boldened up with all conceived malice, dreads never the terrible judgment of God; nor yet the
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good and godly man never ceaseth to embrace his infinite grace and mercy. But to our history.

Albeit the realm of Scotland was troubled and afflicted on this manner; yet the realm of England stood in no better case than their neighbours did; for HENRY VI. a bairn of six years of age, being crowned king of England and France, there fell a discord between the Burgunds and Englishmen (both oppressing France with fire and sword) for the slaughter of the earl of Salisbury, who was slain by shot of a gun, uncertain how or what way. This slaughter was very profitable for the Frenchmen, who were governed and ruled in wars by a woman of excellent spirit, called The Maiden of France; for they thereby began to be of better courage, and to recover many of their lands, which the Englishmen had rest from them before; and not only triumphed they against the Englishmen, but also became victorious of whatsoever people or nation with whom they had debate or quarrel. But the Englishmen thinking to augment their strength by a new alliance and affinity, married this young king HENRY VI. upon the duke of Lorraine's daughter, and lightlied the honourable marriage with the duke of Orleans's daughter, who was promised in marriage to him erst before; so, in contracting of new friendship, they lost the old. Whereat the duke of Orleans took such hatred and indignation, that, with many nobles, his friends and familiars, he left the Englishmen, and gave over the band betwixt them. And thereafter, from hand, as the unfortunate chance of worldly affairs befalls, that mischief ever follows upon mischief, there rose a marvellous sedition in England, and discord among themselves: For many noblemen, envying the empire and governance of the Duke of Gloucester, who was chosen protector of England during the minority of the king, gathered to a convention where they took him, and put him in prison for that night; and upon the morrow, brought him out and hanged him shamefully upon a gallows, as he had been a thief.

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The principal movers of this sedition were, the duke of Buckingham, the earl of Beaumont, and the constable of England. But how soon this vile act was divulged through the realm, Gloucester's kindred and friends gathered, and invaded all parts with fire and sword; wherefore the earls of Bedford, Somerset and Shrewsbury, who were appointed for the defence of Normandy, and to gainstand their enemies in France, being destitute of their kindred and friends, that were both in England and France, were compelled to withdraw them homeward; and so they lost Roan, with many other good towns in Normandy.

How soon thir novels were spread in England, the commons of England, with no less mischief than the rest, chose themselves an Irishman, called Henry, to be a chiftain; and then came forward, purposing to come to London, boasting right highly to be revenged upon the nobles of the realm.

The king, being some part dejected in so great a variance, gathered an army of all kind of people through other, without any order, and sent them forth to repress the proudness of the commons. Upon whom the commons rushed so fiercely, that they vanquished them with small difficulty. Thereafter passed to London, where they desired some special courtiers to be rendered in their hands: and specially the lord Grey treasurer, the bishop of Salisbury, and the lord Dudley; so thir men were given to them to dispose at their pleasure, thinking, that through the sacrifice of thir mens lives, all the rest might eschew the present danger. But thir commons ireful cruelty, in a manner, was sufficed with the slaughter of the lord Grey; and thereafter they warded the rest in strong holds and fortresses. But how soon the lord Grey was execute, they began to spoil the town, and slew all the citizens, without ruth or pity, that made any defence for their gear.

This, and such like other cruelties, made the governors of England very solist and feared, thinking, that if they put no remeid hastily to thir labourers, the commons should over-run them, as they had done
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the rest. After long consultation, they caused the chancellor write to the commons and their captain, praying them to scale their army; which, if they stench'd their uproars, they promised them free remission of all offences bypast; and also to promote their captain HEWRY to great honour and dignity. The people was soon allured by this fair pleasant words, who when their high fury overpast them, they desired to be at home, willing to red themselves of such cummers and enormities as they had entred in before. So HENRY their captain being left by them, for whose cause he attempted so high oppression and mischief was taken and beheaded for his temerarious enterprises; and his taker got a thousand pounds sterling for his reward.

Then the nobles, seeing that so long peace had bred so great riches among the commons, where-through they became so proud, that they perturbed the country in this manner, after long consultation, they thought nothing better to break them with, than some foreign wars; wherefore they began to cause Northumberland and Cumberland to provoke wars. It hath been the use, ever since this isle of Britain was inhabited, either by Scottish or Englishmen, that when-ever they had wars with their enemies, they could never be so easily drawn from civil discord; and, by the contrary, being at dissension among themselves, they were compelled to desist therefrom by moving of foreign wars. So the Englishmen, as said is, invaded the borders both with fire and sword, and carried away great preys both of men and goods; and so many Scottish-men, as made defence to resist the invasion and herryship, were all slain cruelly.

The Scottish-men knowing well the intention of the English-men, and by what counsel the truce betwixt them was broken, and also the occasion where-through the wars began; to revenge the great injuries done to them, they gathered a great band and company of men, and invaded England in this same manner, burning and slaying where they came, and returned

returned home with great preys of men and goods. So the countries being invaded on this manner, on either side, and daily troubled with slaughter and herryship, as said is, the lands of Cumberland were all utterly wasted and destroyed. So the Scottish-men invaded that country with greatest cruelty, by reason they were the first provokers of the wars.

But how soon this was shewn to the nobles of England, they collected an army of men, to the number of forty thousand men, and sent them to invade Scotland with greater expedition than was believed. The chiftains and lieutenants of this army, were the earl of Northumberland, and **MAGNUS REIDMAN**, knight of the order, who was so well brought up in the wars of France, and therethrough had so great knowledge and experience of war, and warlike affairs, and also illustrate with such manhood, that he was called by the Englishmen, the father of chivalry; who was named by the Scots, Man with the red Main. It is said, that this man had such hatred at Scottish-men, that he desired, in great anger and wrath, so much Scottish ground from king **HENRY** as he might conquest in Scotland, by the slaughter of the inhabitants thereof, and expelling of them, which was granted to him.

In this mean time the Scottish-men were very diligent to prepare all things that were necessary for their relief; to whom **GEORGE DOUGLAS** earl of Ormond was made lieutenant; who got knowledge by the explorators, that the Englishmen were coming in Anandale, and had transported their army over the water of Solway, and had stented their pavilions upon the water of Sark. After that they were camped on this ways, upon the morn after, they passed through the country, and herryed and slew wherever they came: But knowing that the Scottish armies were approaching so near, they took great fear, and caused them all that were burning and slaying, as said is, to retire, by sound of trumpet, to the camps again, where they put themselves in arrayed battle. In the van guard **MAGNUS REIDMAN** was placed.

In the rear-guard, were all the Welshmen placed, to whom JOHN PENNEYTON was made chieftain; a man of good report and spirit in warlike affairs. And the earl of Northumberland was in the middleward, with the rest of the multitude of men of war.

Upon the other side, our Scottish-men placed themselves very craftily: For GEORGE earl of Ormond was in the steill himself; and the laird of Craigie-Wallace, a noble knight of sovereign manhood, was upon the right wing; the lord Maxwell and the laird of Johnstoun on the left wing, with a chosen company of their friends, and many other valiant gentlemen and yeomen of this realm. So, by thir armies were arrayed, the earl of Ormond said to his folks on this manner. ' I request you, most valiant champions, affectuously to remember, that it was not for no wrongous quarrel that we have assembled ourselves this day at armour, but rather for our own defence, and security of our lives from the injuries of our enemies, and their tyranny, who, at this present do invade without any cause or provocation made by us. Every one of you understands sufficiently, that they have done the same oft before, which at the last hath redounded to their high displeasure and disadvantage. For we have experience, when we have been most unjustly invaded by them, that the infinite favour of God, which hath been ever ready to the just, has caused the victory to incline to us by expectation of man's ingyne. And ye may be assured, that the victory stands not in multitude of men, but in singular courage, directed with a just quarrel, and God's providence. Think nothing but victory, if that your will and purpose be to deliver your country, wives and bairns, from the tyranny of your enemies.'

Thir words being said, the trumpets sounded to join the armies: But at the beginning, there came such a shower of darts and arrows upon the Scottish van-guard, that, through sudden fear, they took purpose to flee. Then Craigie-Wallace, their

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captain;

captain, began to reproach them for their feebleness, saying, 'that it is not the duty of valiant champions, to fear at the sight of their enemies, and to deject their courage before they come to strokes. I exhort you therefore to rush forward upon your enemies with a manly countenance. If ye persevere but a little space, think no other but the victory shall be in your hands, seeing your action is good, for the defence of your liberty and of your country: Follow me therefore, and ye shall see how happy it is to put our lives in peril for the resisting of our enemies, and delivering of ourselves from tyranny and bondage.'

By thir words were said, his men were so enraged, and rushed so furiously upon the English van-guard, with axes, spears and halberts, and made so great slaughter at the first coming, that they put the English-men clean a-back from their standard, and compelled them, at the last, to take the flight. MAGNUS REIDMAN was nothing affeared of this disadvantage, but rather boldened and kindled up with greater ire than became a wise chiftain, pressed forward, with a company of chosen men that were his principal servants and guard, upon Craigie-Wallace, thinking to overset him: But his enterprize was in vain; for the Scottish men invironed round about him so keenly, that, with small difficulty, they slew him cruelly and all his guard. The rest of the English-men had no better fortune. When the clamour rose among the Scottish-men, that MAGNUS REIDMAN was slain, the English chiftain, in whom all English-men put their whole hope and confidence of their welfare and felicity; there came such dreadour and fear upon them, that they might no longer sustain the press of the Scottish-men; but gave backs: Upon whom our men followed very sharply. Many were slain at the thick of the battle, but many more on the flight. For the water, being swollen up with the filling of the sea, caused many to lose their lives. Others seeing this, and doubting whether they should fight and die with honour, or flee with shame, were

were cruelly slain upon the water-banks. This battle was foughten with great cruelty. There were slain in it three thousand English, and the governor in the van-guard, and eleven other noblemen, knights of the order: and of the Scottish-men more than six hundred. There were taken in this battle, JOHN PENNEYTON and ROBERT HARRINGTON, two noble English knights; and also the earl of Northumberland's son (by whose convoy his father was horsed, and escaped his enemies) was taken, and a great number of others, and were brought captives in Scotland. There was such abundance of riches, silver and gold, gotten in this field, that never was the like seen in no man's time before. The spoilzy was parted among the Scottish-men, after the rate of arms. Craigie-Wallace was deadly wounded in the field, and died the third month thereafter.

The earl of Ormond, after this victory, returned home with great triumph, and imprisoned the principal captains in Lochmabane. After this he was treated and banquetted by the king's majesty with great magnificence. It is said, during the time of the banquet, the king made a haraungue to him, and WILLIAM earl of Douglas, his brother, saying,
 ' Now my lords, I beseech your lordships to remem-
 ' ber how happily all things have succeeded to you,
 ' and what honour cometh through wise and sage
 ' counsel, by the high felicity and renown that
 ' chance to all subjects, when they are ruled gladly
 ' under the obedience of one king or prince;
 ' and, by the contrary, what mischief befalls them that
 ' run over head to any purpose, without regard or
 ' foresight to God or man. It becometh all favour-
 ' ers of commonwealths to conquest all men that are
 ' neighbours to be their friends, and to shew them-
 ' selves, with all their strength, strong enemies, when
 ' they are urged to battle with their foes: For, in
 ' so doing, the prince has pleasure to rule and go-
 ' vern, and the subjects live in peace, and rest free
 ' from the injuries of their enemies, and tyranny of
 ' oppressors. It is known, that the condition and

‘ fashion of all the Douglasses, since the beginning, bath been in this ways, and yet is, and, as I suppose, to be in time coming. Without doubt there is nothing so dear and pleasant to me as noblemen of the blood of Douglas, whilk I favour above all things, intirely with my heart; so that ye would show yourselves no worse minded in the correction of thieves and murderers, than ye have proven valiant, both first and last, for the defence and welfare of this realm: For if thieves and murderers be not punished, the poor ones and the commons can have no life, who are the very uphold of the nobles, and who perchance are your own kindred and blood; albeit, through base estates, they be degenerate; and, being Christians, are participant of the favour of God, and obedience of the same prince to whom ye are: Therefore I exhort you to proceed in the renown and fame which ye and your forbeers have conquest in times past.’

When the king had said this, the said earls thanked his majesty with great reverence, promising to persevere in all things as he had commanded, and never to thole theft, reif, nor slaughter unpunished, in time to come; nor yet any kind of injuries nor offences, committed against rich or poor, to let the same pass unrevenge. So this noblemen took their leave, and passed home to their wives and bairns, convoyed with their kindred and friends, with great triumph, mirth and gladness. After this the lords of Scotland stood a long time in greater quietness than was before.

But when the word of this sorrowful battle came to London, it made all the nobles and people of the country wondrous afraid; yet, that they should not seem to be altogether dejected of their wonted courage, they decreed in parliament, to revenge this great slaughter made lately in the battle of Sark. But when they gathered an army to send in Scotland, well furnished with victual, and all kind of munition and vivers, there arose suddenly a vile dissension and discord among themselves, whereof the like was never heard

heard nor seen before. The duke of York, the earls of March, Warwick and Salisbury, with many other great nobles of the realm, conspired against this HENRY VI. Wherefore they dissembled their ire with the Scottish-men to a more convenient time. And look, how busy they were to vex us with battle, being at quietness and rest; so they were as careful to procure our peace, being troubled with wars amongst themselves; and sent an ambassador to intreat peace with the king of Scotland, who, by the advice of the nobles, granted the same for three years; thinking it was not convenient to refuse it, seeing the English attempts were punished in their hand in the last battle.

In this same year, Sir RICHARD COLVIL, knight, set upon JAMES AUCHINLECK, a near friend to the earl of DOUGLAS, and slew him, with diverse of his friends; because he had sustained sundry injuries and wrongs of this JAMES, and had never made redress thereof, notwithstanding that the said RICHARD had required him sundry and diverse times to the same effect. But the earl of Douglas took such high indignation at the slaughter of his friends, that he made the solemn oath, never to cease till he was revenged thereof; and so he gathered a company of men, and first herried all the lands pertaining to the said Colvil, and thereafter sieged the said castle where he was, whilk soon was won; and the said RICHARD, and all them that were therein, slain, and the house spoiled. There were many in the country that commended the earl of Douglas's enterprize, for the revenging of his friend's quarrel, if he had been so diligent in pursuing of murderers, thieves and reavers, that injured and oppressed the poor commons without ruth or pity. But many had good expectation, that this tyranny should sometime have an end, that vexed them all times so cruelly. At the last, the earl being so enriched, both through his own great rents, and buddes conquest in the court, and also through the great extortion of the poor people, and by the great importance that beset him through the

overseeing of the thieves and murderers, he took purpose to visit other countries to advance his greatness; in so far he thought no man could be worthy, within this realm, to behold his vain prodigality. So JOHN DOUGLAS lord Balveny, a man most to his conditions of any creature, being constitute procurator and overseer of all affairs belonging to him in Scotland, in his absence; and also all necessary things being prepared according to his estate, took voyage towards Flanders, being accompanied with his brother Mr. JAMES DOUGLAS, a man of singular erudition, and well beseen in divine letters, brought up long time in Paris at the schools, and looked for the bishoprick of Dunkeld, and thereafter for the earldom of Douglas: For this earl, being so long married, having no bairns, was desperate to have procreate or gotten any children in times coming. There were in the company many other knights and nobles, among whom were the knights and lords of Hamilton, Graham, Saltoun, Seaton and Oliphant, men of great fame and estimation. There were others of meaner estate, such as Calder, Urquhart, Campbel, Forrester, Lawder, all knights and gentlemen. Whose convoy made this earl so proud and insolent, that he represented a king's magnificence wherever he came. Out of Flanders he passed in France; and out of France to Italy, and so forward to Rome: But the Romans having knowledge of his coming, met him with a honourable company, and received him very princely within the town.

But, within two months after his departure, some of the nobles envying the earl of Douglas's promotion with great rents and dominions, and others oppressed by his tyranny, began to delate his prideful ambition and disdain of the people, and high offences sustained by every man, in time of his great credit at court: But many, seeing place given to men that would plainzie, began, day by day, more and more to complain upon his tyranny; but the king, as it became a wise prince, gave no sudden credit in this earl's absence,

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Yet, notwithstanding, the king thought it expedient to send a herald to summon JOHN lord Balveny, procurator to the earl of Douglas, as said is, to answer to such complaints as were given in upon himself, his chief kindred and friends: But seeing he was something stubborn to obey the command, and charge given to him, the king's majesty commanded a company of men of war to bring him in against his will. At which time some persuaded the king to handle him rigorously, since he had once begun; or otherwise every villain should contemn the king's acts; they seeing no hasty punishment for disobedience. But the king, nothing moved with their sayings, thought not best to punish such things in his anger, but rather to repair all things gently, lest that, if he would have been rigorous, there should come greater inconveniences and calamities upon the commonwealth; and so caused accuse him, and spier at him, 'What excuse he had to repel such points of dittay, and injuries as were laid to the earl of Douglas's charge, and others of his counsel and dependence.' Which points, when he could not goodly colour them, he put himself in the king's will; who charged him to restore every one his own after, as he might get time and opportunity: Yet, so soon as he eschewed on this ways, and was free of the king's hands, he kept never a word that he promised, for the repairing of such offences, as he was commanded, following the counsel of the earls of Ormond and Murray; who, albeit they durst not openly, yet they suborned him quietly to disobedience; and as other wicked flatterers, to whom civil dissension was ever pleasant, for by it they thought they had a voluptuous life; and, on the contrary, nothing was so odious to them as peace and rest.

The king, hearing of this pridefulness, caused the earl of Orkney, chancellor for the time, to pass in Galloway and Clydesdale, and gather up all the rents in these parts to the king's profits, and to make collectors to that effect; attour to give every man command, in these countries, to refund the injuries and
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skaithe done by them before, and to eschew from all offending of their neighbours in time coming. But when the earl of Orkney passed to Douglasdale and Galloway to the effect foresaid, accompanied with a small number of folks, not only was he disobeyed in his charges, but also mocked and injured by the earl of Douglas's friends and familiars.

The king, being provoked by this to high anger and wrath, caused summon by a herald, all men whatsoever, of high or low degree, pertaining or favouring a Douglas, to underly the law, and to declare the disobeyers the king's rebels; whose tyranny he thought to repress with fire and sword: So the king, accompanied with an army, past to Galloway; at whose coming the thieves and murderers fled to strong holds and strengths for safety of their lives: But the king sent a great part of his army to pursue them, who were repulsed very contumeliously. At the which the king took such great anger, that he sieged all the fortresses and castles; amongst whom he wan the castle of Lochmabane and Douglas; and because the castle of Douglas was so difficile to won, he caused cast down the same to the ground; but Lochmabane was garnished with men of war, and not casten down, because it was hastily rendered. And albeit he took sundry in his favour after they were rendered in his will, yet he dealt their lands, goods and gear, to their creditors and complainers, till they were satisfied of the things taken from them, whereof the misdoers were convicted.

The king, notwithstanding of this rebellion and disobedience, was not more cruel in the punishing thereof, than he was at the beginning. At last, when this was shewn to the earl of Douglas, being at Rome, it made him to be afraid, and thereafter took purpose, with all diligence to come home to Scotland; but far from the magnificence he passed away with: For how soon this word came to their ears, they parted sundry ways, some came through Flanders, and some through France. The earl got safe conduct to pass through England: But when he was

was marching near the Scottish borders, he sent Mr. James his brother before him to the king's majesty, to know the king's mind towards him. The king seeing this young gentleman so obedient, entreating his brother's peace, received him very homely, saying, 'He desired nothing more of the earl of Douglas in time coming, but that he would punish murderers, thieves and robbers, in these parts where he bore authority and rule, namely in Anandale.'

The earl of Douglas, after this, came home himself, and was received right heartfully by the king, and was remitted of all things bygone: Wherefore he promised faithfully to rule all things within his bounds at the king's command and pleasure; and then he received all fortresses and strengths again out of the hands of the king's men of war; and thereafter was holden in such great estimation and favour by the king, that he was made lieutenant-general of the realm: But he stood not long in this credit; for fragil fortune changeth the conceits of men in such manner, that they stand but short while at one purpose. So shortly after he passed to speak with the king of England, without knowledge of the king of Scotland, his own prince, as he alleged, for the reparation of sundry skaiths and damages, sustained by the frequent incursions of the English-men before. But the king of Scotland was greatly commoved through his passage into England; not only he himself lightlied by the earl of Douglas, but also he thought some quiet draught to be drawn betwixt the earl of Douglas and the king of England, to his great dishonour and offence.

This earl foresaid being in England, and understanding the king of Scotland, his master, to know of all his quiet doings, took purpose, and came right humbly to the king's grace, seeking pardon for his fault, promising solemnly never to commit so great an offence in time coming; for whom the queen and nobles made great request to forgive him. The king being moved by their desire, received him again in favour, as he was before; but deprived him of all his

his offices, and discharged him of any administration thereof; and therefore placed the earl of Orkney and Sir WILLIAM CREIGHTON in the offices, who were at all times true, faithful and obedient subjects. The earl of Douglas was so highly offended herewith, that he hated all the king's counsellors as his deadly enemies; and specially Sir WILLIAM CREIGHTON, for old feud betwixt them. Attour, some flattering courtiers feigned to the earl of Douglas, that they heard Sir WILLIAM CREIGHTON, when he was talking among his friends, saying, 'I vow openly that the king did not his office like a true and faithful prince, not only that he tholed the earl of Douglas to escape with his life unpunished, but also reconciled such an unhappy man to his favour so oft again, who did deserve a thousand deaths for his wicked tyranny.' And said moreover, 'That it had been good for the commonwealth of Scotland, that the earl of Douglas, with his whole kindred and friends, had been rooted out, and their memory clean stamped away; otherwise, if this be not done, so long as he or any of them lives, he was assured, that neither the king shall reign long in peace and rest above this realm; nor yet the subjects obey to his acts, as becomes a commonwealth guided with laws and justice.'

The earl of Douglas, hearing this, gave oversoon credit to wicked false reports of an idle lown, that had no other shift to conquest his living with, except vain trattills, to sow discord among noblemen: But yet he suppressed his ireful mind, and counselled with his friends, how and what way he should destroy Sir WILLIAM CREIGHTON: For if he were cut off and slain, he thought it but little difficulty to obtain the king's favour, with all the offices that he had before. So, through the vain words of this unhappy flatterer, there kindled a fire that was not able to be stockened in no man's time living in their days. At last the earl of Douglas being advertised, by some spies, that Sir WILLIAM CREIGHTON had set a day to come to Edinburgh, thought to put his unhappy purpose

to execution : And to that effect, he suborned some bloody tyrants to lie in wait in a quiet place, near-hand by his gate, awatching for his slaughter. Upon the morn, early in the morning, Sir WILLIAM CREIGHTON knowing no such thing of this watching for his destruction, chanced near by this same place where the butchers lay ; who brake about him with such a reird and clamour ; that he, knowing no such thing, was all utterly abased and afraid : But, being admonished by his son, a young valiant man, with some others his friends, to remember upon his old wonted courage, and not to take fear, seeing it was force either to fight or flee ; and as the proverb is, ' Fortune helps the hardy, but no remeid can be found for feebleness ;' he defended so valiantly, till one of thir brigands was slain, and another deadly wounded ; and, at the last, seeing he might not make his party good, he took the flight with his fellows towards the castle of Creighton, for safety of their lives ; and so escaped the danger. But that was not long unrecompensed ; for he gathered a great company of his friends and assisters, and came forward toward Edinburgh to be revenged upon the earl of Douglas, deviser of the foresaid ruffle, who was remaining there with a small multitude accompanied, without any suspicion of Sir WILLIAM CREIGHTON's gathering : And therefore it was force to him to leave the town, and flee to save himself, or else, without doubt, to be in peril of his life, with all them that were in his company.

Thir mutual injuries and despiteful conceits, moved on every side, exasperated both the parties in others ire and hatred, that the one of them appeared suddenly to bring the other to utter destruction and ruin. Through this dissension the realm was divided in two parts and factions.

But yet the earl of Douglas bearing very heavily that he was so shamefully put out of the town, by the deceitful gathering of his enemy ; attour, fearing that the king was not forgetful of so many offences done in time bygone, and therethrough would be more favourable

ourable to Sir WILLIAM CREIGHTON than to him, he thought to bind a league with such nobles as would be party; yea, and far above, if it come to the worst, both to his unfriends, and to the king himself, if he would declare himself in his contrary: And therefore sent quiet messages to his friends, and specially to the earls of Crawford, Ross and Murray, to assist and debate against such dangers and invasions as presently appeared to fall upon him: Which being gladly granted (for all thir men hated, as one, Sir WILLIAM CREIGHTON, with the rest of the courtiers that were in credit with the king, without any hope of reconciliation) there was a confederation made betwixt thir earls and their friends, with a solemn oath, that the injuries done to any of them, or the soberest of them, or their adherents, should be equal quarrel to them all, contrary whatsoever men in or forth of this realm; and to spend their lives, lands and gear, to the revenge of the same.

Through this covenant the earl of Douglas grew so proud and insolent, that they boasted in all parts, wherever they came, to have the rule and guiding of the realm against all mens will, and to have their enemies utterly exterminate. But this ambitious and vain vaunting was not pleasant in the sight of God: For vain pride and ambitiousness cometh never of God, but allenarly of the devil, who is the master of pride.

In the mean time the king began of new to hate the house of Douglas, because of their ambitiousness. Another cause there was; because some thieves of Douglasdale had herried all the lands pertaining to JOHN HERRIES a nobleman, and faithful subject to the king's majesty at all times; whereof when this HERRIES had oft and divers times complained, and sought redress thereof from the earl of Douglas, and could never get remeid, he took purpose to recompence the same wrong, because he got no justice. But this attempt succeeded very unhappily; for, in the herrying of Anandale, he was taken with his complices, and brought to the earl of Douglas, where

where he was casten in irons, and thereafter hanged shamefully as he had been a thief, notwithstanding the king's commandment in the contrary, and other messagers sent to that effect.

The king took very heavy with this high contempt, but suppressed it for the time. Attour, the poor people were so overcome and burdened with importable charges, that there was no life for them; and yet, notwithstanding, they durst not plainzie nor lament their own misery in thir troublous times; and therefore day by day, mischief began more and more to increase. Other noblemen, that were full of substance, had no will of discord, but abhorred all utterly thir civil wars rising among themselves, and lamented quietly thir dangers and calamities, which lay not within their power to quench. This mischief daily increased so much, that all men took suspicion, that thir earls of Douglas, Crawford, Murray and Ross, with their assisters, which was the greatest part of the realm, should hastily depose the king out of his authority: Which suspicion being shewn to the king, he took great fear thereof; for he knew well that their faction was as potent (if they were not more potent) than himself.

At this mean time the earl of Douglas cast himself for to be stark against the king; and therefore sought and persuaded all men, under his opinion and servitude, and in special the gentlemen of Galloway, with Kyle, Carrick and Cunningham, and all other parts that were near adjacent unto him, desiring them daily to ride and go with him, as his own household-men and servants, and to assist him in all things whatsoever he had ado, whether it was right or wrong, with the king, or against him. But some other wise men seeing the danger appearing of the earl of Douglas's proceedings contrary the king and his authority, therefore would not assist him, nor take part with him, nor ride nor gang with him, nor be his man. Among the rest of thir there was one called Maclellan, who was tutor of Bomby for the time, and sister's son to Sir PATRICK GRAY, who was master of Gray, and princi-

pal servitor to the king, and captain of his guard. This Maclellap, for love he bore to the king's grace, and to the ministration of justice, would, on no ways, serve and ride with the earl of Douglas, contrary the king and his authority, nor yet to oppress the commonwealth of the country, but kept him quietly within his bounds, doing no man wrong. The earl of Douglas seeing this, that this man would not serve him as he desired, came hastily unto his house with a great number of men, and sieged it, and wan it, and took him out of the same, and had him to the castle of Douglas, and cast him there in strait prison. His friends, seeing this, passed to the court to Sir PATRICK GRAY, to shew him the manner thereof, how it stood with his sister's son. The which when Sir PATRICK GRAY heard the novels, he was heavily displeased at the matter, and passed hastily to the king, and shewed him the manner how it stood with his sister's son, desiring the king's grace for to deliver him his sister's son, which the earl of Douglas had in captivity and prison for the time. The king granted very thankfully the same, and caused write a sweet letter of supplication to the earl of Douglas, for to deliver the tutor of Bomby to Sir PATRICK GRAY, his came.

This writing being subscribed and signeted with the king's signet, thereafter delivered to Sir PATRICK GRAY, to use the same as he thought cause; who passed hastily, with the said writing and supplication of the king, to the earl of Douglas, who was then in the castle of Douglas, for the time, sitting at his dinner; and hearing told that Sir PATRICK GRAY, the king's familiar servant, was lighted at the gate, the earl marvelled much at the matter, what that should mean, and caused incontinent draw the boards, and rose and met the said Sir PATRICK, with great reverence and humility, because he was the king's principal captain, and secret servant and familiar to his grace; therefore the earl received him with more thanks: But all was under colour and deceit: for the earl had no favour to the king, nor to any of his familiars;

familiars; yet he enquired at the said PATRICK, if he had dined. Who answered, he had not. Then the earl of Douglas said, there was no talk to be had betwixt a full man and a fasting; therefore you shall dine, and we shall talk together at length.

In this mean time Sir PATRICK GRAY sat down to his dinner, and the earl treated him, and made him good chear, whereof Sir PATRICK GRAY was well contented, believing all things to succeed well thereafter. But the earl of Douglas, on the other part, took a suspicion and conjecture what Sir PATRICK GRAY's commission was, and dreading the desire thereof should be for his friend, the tutor of Bomby; therefore, in the mean time, when they were at the dinner, talking of merry matters, the earl caused quietly take forth the tutor of Bomby out of prison, and have him to the green, and there struck off his head, and took the same away from him, and syne covered a fair cloth on his body, that nothing might be seen of that treasonable act that was done.

In this mean time, when dinner was done, Sir PATRICK GRAY presented the king's writing unto the earl, who reverently received it; and, when he had read it, and considered the effect thereof, he gave great thanks to Sir PATRICK GRAY, saying, 'he was beholden to him, that brought so familiar a writing from his prince to him, considering how it stood between them at that time; and as to the desire and supplication, it should be thankfully granted to the king; and the rather for Sir PATRICK's sake.' And took him by the hand, and led him forth to the green, where the gentleman was lying dead, and shewed him the manner, and said, 'Sir PATRICK, you are come a little too late; but yonder is your sister's son lying, but he wants the head. Take his body, and do with it what you will.' Sir PATRICK answered again, with a sore heart, and said, 'My lord, if ye have taken from him his head, dispose upon the body as ye please.' And with that called for his horse, and leaped thereon; and when he was on horseback, he said to the earl on this manner,

ner, ' My lord, if I live, you shall be rewarded for your labours, that you have used at this time, according to your demerits.'

At this saying the earl was highly offended, and cried for horse. Sir PARKER, seeing the earl's fury, spurred his horse; but he was chased near to Edinburgh ere they left him; and had it not been his led horse was so tried and good, he had been taken. But when thir news came to the king, he was heavily discontented therewith, both of the slaughter, then of the chasing of his servant. To that effect the king called his secret council to advise hereupon, what was best to be done for to danton this wicked man, that could no ways be stenchd from reis, oppression and slaughter, both of great men and small. The council advised and concluded that it was best to flatter him, and to bring him in to the council by fair heights and promises; and, in the mean time, to punish him according to his demerit. So the king made him to forget all faults and enormities done by the earl of Douglas in times bypast, desiring nothing of him, but that he would be a good man in time coming; and, for that cause, desired him affectuoussly to come to the council, making him sure, with all promises, that he should be safely pardoned. Some say he got the great seal thereunto, ere he would grant to come to the king.

Then the earl of Douglas came at the king's commandment to Stirling, where he was well received and entertained by the king, who thereafter called him to the supper, and banquetted him very royally, thinking, that if it might be possible, either with gentleness or good deed, to withdraw him from his attempts that he purposed to do. At the last, after supper, the king called the earl of Douglas to a secret chamber, and put all men aside, except so many as were upon the secret council, and his own guard; and there said to him very meekly and gently, as it had been a sober offence that was yet committed, ' It is given me to understand, my lord,' says the king, ' that there is betwixt you and the earl of Crawford,

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'ford, and some other nobles, some band and confe-
 'deration made. I pray you therefore to break such
 'bands, leagues and societies, that are not wont to
 'be within a realm under one prince, by his autho-
 'rity and command; and that ye would be so good
 'as to remove all such occasion as may cause the sub-
 'jects of this realm to take suspicion of your evil
 'mind toward me. As to myself, I know no evil,
 'nor believe none of you; yet it is very unseem-
 'ing to do any such things as are not consonant to the
 'laws of this realm, and pleasure of the king's liege-
 's. For doubtless it cannot be without great slander of
 'the people, nor yet without the prince's hatred, to
 'commit such things as shall cause the people live
 'without order, through evil example; by the which
 'the realm shall be evil abused by every man, even
 'as they were a people without law or justice.'

This being said, with many other pleasant words,
 which are impossible to rehearse, the earl of Dou-
 glas, nothing moved with the king's humanity, an-
 swered again very pridefully, saying, 'That he
 'could not break the band that was made, nor
 'would he discharge the same for no man's sayings;
 'and that for the great offences the king had done
 'to him;' reproaching the king very arrogantly,
 that he had reprov'd him of all his offences: Yet,
 notwithstanding of his proud answer, the king ex-
 hort'd him to do nothing that was degenerate from
 the nobility of his forebears; for that was very wick-
 ed that he had begun, and was a sufficient cause to
 tyne his life, lands and goods, and deserving for-
 faultry, and his memory to be abolished and stramp-
 ed forth for ever. At the last, the king seeing that
 he could not prevail with fairness; and also dreading,
 that, through so prideful answers, worse should have
 followed thereupon than was bruited of before, un-
 less hasty remedy were found; and so he took a high
 anger, and thought to do the thing that was less
 faith to the commonwealth, than to trouble the
 whole realm therewith; and so he pulled forth a
 sword, and said, 'I see well, my lord, my prayer

‘ cannot prevail to cause you desist from your wicked counsel and enterprizes, I shall cause all your wicked conspiracies to cease.’ Thereafter immediately he struck him through the body with the sword; and thereafter the guard, hearing the tumult within the chamber, rushed in, and flew the earl out of hand. This slaughter was in the year of God, one thousand four hundred and fifty two, the twentieth day of February: Which is to be lamented, that a prince should be so tempted by his own subjects, after so many godly and wise exhortations.

At this time there was, in the town of Stirling, many of the earl of Douglas’s friends, with his brother James, the earl of Murray, the earl of Ormond, the lord Balveny, the knight of Cadyaw, JAMES HAMILTON, a man of great estimation among the nobles of the realm, with many other great gentlemen, very potent both of riches and friends. Their gentlemen, how soon word came to them, that the earl was slain, they remained there that night; and upon the morn, they put JAMES DOUGLAS in his brother’s place, as was ordained by the earl before; who made a long harangue and exhortation to his friends to siege the castle, and to revenge the unworthy slaughter of his brother, with the king’s life. But when they saw it was impossible to do, seeing they had no munition fitting for this effect, the castle being so strong, they gave the king very contumelious words, saying, ‘ That they should never obey nor know him again as a king or prince, but should be revenged upon him and his cruel tyranny, as ever they ceased.’

After this they bumed and herried the town of Stirling; and all such other lands that belonged either to the king, or yet to them that would not profess their faction, they wasted with fire and sword. Amongst the which, the whole lands and town of Dalkeith were destroyed, and the castle thereof belted about with a strong siege, and made there a solemn oath never to pass therefrom unto the time it were equal with the ground. For James hated and envied John lord

lord Dalkeith, his friend and kinsman, above all other traitors; and that because he was both of his kindred and surname, and yet had refused to assist his attempts and enterprizes. This siege lasted longer than the siegers believed; for the men within defended valiantly, till their unfriends, irked by so long waking, hunger and other troubles, and the great slaughter of many of their folks, and sundry wounded so cruelly, that they were constrained to leave off their purpose; and so they dissolved the siege.

The king, being highly offended with their arrogant attempts, gathered an army to punish their conspirators for their temerarious enterprizes; but when he saw he could not have the upper hand upon them, so without doubt, he might not make his party good against so great an army, he left his intention till a better time.

In the mean time, when he was looking for the coming of ALEXANDER earl of Huntley, whom he had charged by a herald, and also requested very affectionously to come in his defence, the said ALEXANDER, obedient to the king's command, coming forward with a great army for the king's support, his gate was overset by ALEXANDER earl of Crawford, who was already declared the king's rebel and traitor for lese-majesty, because he contemned the king's authority and empire, being summoned by an officer of arms to underly the law. The earl of Crawford assembled a great company of his allies, kindred and friends, with the whole folks of Angus; and thereafter, when the earl of Huntley was marching towards Angus, the earl of Crawford camped his folks beside the town of Brechin; where both the armies, coming in others fight, rushed forward in arrayed battle upon other. It was long foughten with great cruelty and uncertain victory, till that a company of fresh men came to renew the battle, taking the advantage of the knowside, who came so fiercely on the earl of Huntley's van-guard, that they were compelled to settle a little back; the which when the Angus-men perceived that they were put back, and having
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ing advantage, they came more fiercely upon them than they did before, and namely upon the place forest charged. But, in the mean time, a captain of the earl of Crawford's, to wit, JOHN COLOSS of Bonnymoon, who had in governance three hundred able men, well armed, and bore battle axes and halberts, with other sharp weapons: This JOHN COLOSS fled from the earl of Crawford traiterously, and caused others to flee with him, wherethrough he tint the field: And because this laird desired his son to be put in fee of his lands, who were holden of the earl of Crawford, with other commodity and gains, that this laird desired at the earl of Crawford's hands; who answered him and said, 'the time was short;' but bade him do well that day with him, and prove a valiant man, and he should have all his desire and more: But the laird of Bonnymoon, not contented with this answer, passed from him with a grief, and arrayed his men, and put them in order, as he would have foughten most furiously; but when he saw his time come, that he should have rescued the earl of Crawford, who was fighting then cruelly, the said captain drew himself aside cowardly, and made no support to the said earl; who, seeing his men departing from him treasonably, by command and convoy of this captain, he was constrained to flee for safety of his life. And albeit the victory inclined to the earl of Huntley, yet he got not the same without great slaughter of his folks; for two of his own brethren were slain, with fundry other gentlemen and yeomen. There was slain upon the earl of Crawford's side, Sir JOHN LINDSAY knight, his brother, with many other gentlemen, whereof had been great pity, if they had been in a better quarrel. So the earl of Crawford being overcome in this battle, it is said, that a gentlemen followed so fiercely upon the chase, that he drew him in the midst of the press of the earl of Crawford's folks, that were gathered to be his safeguard in the midst of the flight; and so was compelled to pass with them, as he had been a man of their own, to the place of Finhaven, where he heard the earl say,
That

That he wished to be seven years in hell, to have the honourable victory that had fallen to the earl of Huntley that day, considering the great favour that he had conquest of his prince, for his relief, and repressing of rebels. Upon the morn thereafter all the dead bodies were buried, ilk one after their own estate; and albeit the earl was overcome, as said is, yet he remained still in the country of Angus, as he did before, and pursued all them that were not of his faction with great cruelty, wasting their lands with fire and sword; and namely them that had fled from him in the battle, spoiling them of their lives and goods, as they might be apprehended, and cast down their houses to the ground. This battle was stricken upon the Ascension-day, in the year of God, one thousand four hundred and fifty three.

In this mean time, while the earl of Huntley was occupied, on this manner, for the liberty of the realm, the earl of Murray entered into the lands of Strathbogie, and burnt the corns, and herried the country, and all other lands pertaining to the earl of Huntley. Which was not long unrequited: For how soon he was victorious over the common enemies of the realm, he invaded the lands of Murray with greater cruelty, slaughter and herryship, than was done in his bounds and lands. At whose coming the earl of Murray, with his friends and clients, took such fear, by reason of the recent victory, that it behoved him to flee the country for safeguard of his life. It is said, that the earl of Huntley came to the town of Forres, and burnt up all the one side of the town, by reason it appertained to the earl of Murray his kindred and friends; but spared the other side thereof, by reason that a great part of it pertained to his favourers and goodwillers.

Short while thereafter the king caused set a parliament by the counsel of JAMES KENNEDY bishop of St. Andrews, where the decret of forfeiture, led against the earl of Crawford before, was newly approved and ratified again, and his goods and gear confiscate, and lands dealt, himself declared traitor for

for his rebellion, and his memory abolished, and scraped out of the book of arms for ever. And also JAMES earl of Douglas, the earls of Murray and Ormond, JOHN lord of Balveny, JAMES HAMILTON of that ilk, knight, foresaid, with diverse other landed gentlemen, were summoned to the parliament to a certain day, to underly the law for certain crimes as were to be laid to their charges. But this was in vain; for none of them thought to make obedience or compearance: And also, upon the night after they were summoned, some explorators were sent to the town of Edinburgh, to spy the form and fashion of all their proceedings; who at their masters commands, affixt placarts upon the kirk-doors, sealed with the earl's own hand and signet, bearing thir words, in effect, 'The earl of Douglas will neither obey command nor charge in time coming, by reason the king was but a bloody murderer of his own blood, and breaker of the law of hospitality, a false ungodly thirster for innocent blood, without a just quarrel or occasion;' with many other contumelious sayings, unworthy to rehearse.

The king getting wit of this thing, he took such high disdain, that he gathered a company of armed men to invade this prideful tyrant; and, because it was the dead time of the year, he could do nothing for the repairing of his honour, except that he burnt the corns and houses, herried the countries, and slew some spies. He returned home again, and deferred his purpose till the spring of the year: But yet the earl with his assisters, took little heed of all this her-ship and slaughter, but were as insolent as they had never been afflicted with such misfortunes. And moreover, that the lands, rents and riches, pertaining to his umquhile brother, should not come in the hand of foreign men, the earl of Douglas sent to the Pope, for a dispensation to marry his brother's wife, to whom a great part of the lands fell, through the decease of her said umquhile husband, beside the lands that appertained to her in heritage, which he could no manner of way obtain; and therefore, without law,

law, or respect to God or a good conscience, he took and married his brother's wife, to the effect foresaid.

In the spring of the year thereafter, this intestine war, within the bowels of this commonweal, began to increase ay more and more; and so continued two years; during the which time, the Douglasses burnt and herried all lands pertaining to the king and his assitters; and also to them that were not plain on his faction. And, upon the other side, the king and his assitters were very loath to use such cruelty for their recompence, but rather, to break their enemies prideful arrogance, wasted and herried Anandale, Ettrick, Forest, with other lands pertaining to the other faction. At the last the earl of Douglas's special friends, such as were left on life, during the said civil wars, being vexed and irked so long through civil war, and by frequent her ship drawn to extreme poverty, gave counsel to their chief to leave and desist from his seditious disobedience, and humbly to desire pardon of the king's majesty, and to render himself, without fraud or guile, in his hands, will and gentrice, who, of his honour, apparently could not deny the same to him; for if a king will denude himself of all clemency, consideration or pity, then it were a great and manifest sign and token of his fearful dread and terror to every man. Attour, they gave the earl to understand, that the king being so vexed, as appeared to them, through longsome and tedious travel, taken of the appeasing of the commonweal, would be as glad to receive him in his favour, as he would be to offer himself thereto: And so, not only should he be reconciled to his prince, but also might conquest the friendship of many others, as principal ender of all mischief reigning within this realm.

When his friends had said this, with many other persuasive words, he made answer, ' That he would never put his life in that man's will and danger, that had put down, first, two in the castle of Edinburgh that were brother bairns with him; and now, of late, WILLIAM earl of Douglas, his own brother,

' ther, of whom the like rang never within this realm :
 ' And were not all thir, says he, called very gentle,
 ' as friends, by himself, and by his present courtiers
 ' and counsellors, to righteous action, to the effect
 ' thereby the law of nature, and law of hospitality,
 ' they should be even, as it was, destroyed and slain?
 ' And if so was, that they were betrayed and slain
 ' under the colour of entertainment, how much more
 ' fearful is it to me to put me in his danger? So he
 ' thought there was but one of two to be chosen,
 ' either extreme chance of battle, whereby one
 ' might have the upper hand; or else, if they left the
 ' field, and give over the enterprize, they should be
 ' murdered, slain, or banished, with other intolerable
 ' chances that might befall, to his derision, scorn and
 ' skaith, and shame to his friends and kindred.
 ' Shortly, there was no middle way, he thought, that
 ' might deliver him out of this present peril.'

For which sayings many began to leave his mighty
 courage in such adversity. Others not only disal-
 lowed his obstinate mind in such wickedness, but al-
 so reproached the fortifiers and allowers of him in
 such wickedness and perverse perseverance: Think-
 ing well (as it was true indeed) that all they that fed
 him with such flattery and disobedience, both towards
 God and the king, would not continue unto the un-
 happy end of this matter, as they promised, to the
 great eversion of the commonweal, and the destroy-
 ing of the prince: For they knew that his prideful-
 ness could not lack a mischievous end, as might be
 sufficiently understood, by the example of such like
 men in all times bygone, both by the Scottish and
 other foreign history. Then, how soon the earl of
 Crawford understood the earl of Douglas's obstinate
 and wilful disobedience, for whose quarrel he had
 fallen in such mischief, he despised his company, and
 took purpose to humble himself, and come in a vile
 abasement to the king, and ask pardon for the high
 offences that he had committed; knowing well, that
 if he would persevere in his wicked society and band,
 that not only should he, his kindred and friends with
 their

their posterity, be put out from all memory, but also the noble facts, and martial deeds of his forebeers, who through their good service, had conquest both the lands that he possessed presently, and also the king's favours, with great commendation and laud of all men, should be obscured and forgot for ever.

So, when the king was passing to the north land, coming through Angus, the earl of Crawford came, bareheaded and barefooted, clad as he had been a miserable captive guilty of a crime, accused in judgment, in dolorous and poor arrayment, to move the judges and magistrates to commiseration and pity; and so, accompanied with a small number of folks, driry in countenance, he cast him in the king's gate. But, from hand, so soon as he came before the king's majesty, with tears bursting out abundantly, he fell on his knees; which being shewn to the king, what man it was, and who they were that were in his company; and that the earl, confident more in the king's clemency, wherein he had placed his whole hope of restitution, than moved with any fear or dreadour, had put himself in his grace's will and mercy; the king bad raise him up, to see wherefore he came, all fear and dreadour set aside. Then it is said, that the earl's courage being some part recovered again, dried the tears from his eyes, and said to the king in manner following.

If transgressors of the laws and statutes of the realm hoped for no other thing at king's and princes, having the rule and government of others, but that which the laws decern, most mighty prince, I see no place left to me this day for remission of my crime; yet, notwithstanding the same, reason itself persuades me, with good hopes, to come straight to thy clemency to impetrate pardon for my offence, even as it were to a sure anchor, in whose hands lies the power of life and death. I believe clemency to be the principal of all royal duties, and you to have conquest the same, as that becomes a king and prince above all other virtues: For, if my severe flesh would labour to put away

by any argument, by the same reason he would appear to make away all occasion of amendment from them that fall sometime from right and reason, and so should all kings virtues be obscured and closed up, and a broad entry opened forth to all kind of defection and iniquity. I grant indeed, that no man should, of his duty, decline from right and reason: But one thing I require, what is he that is in greatest estimation of the common people, in all civil and public affairs, that may avow, that he hath ever faulted against the laws, either for the cause of hatred, favour, dreadour or envy? I believe, forsooth, that no man can say it. It is but casual to a man to fall in an offence; but to amend, recognise and condemn his fault himself, it is a great gift and benefit of God: For it becomes one that is fallen in error, to which every mortal man is subject, to become penitent, and amend his life, with firm purpose to eschew the like in time coming. Wherefore, most clement prince, I am as a weary man coming to your majesty this day, granting that I have faulted, and my conscience, bearing witness, condemns my own doings; in so far, that I confess I am unworthy to live, unless I be willing myself, on the one part, to correct the former fashions of my life; and, on the other, the great pity of the noble house of Lindsays falling in destruction. But if you help it in time, which should move you to restore me for my forebeers cause, even as it were from death to life again: For thy clemency, from the which no man has been repulsed, at any time, that was moved with good, without fraud or guile, to humble themselves thereto, has given me hardiment to ask pardon of my offences and faults. I pray thee, therefore, that I may obtain this my request, and that for my forebeers their truth and constancy, care and travel taken by them for defence of the realm. And because the beginning of our house, progress and genealogy of the same, will appear to further me in this case, I shall declare the same briefly. The first man that was called Lindsay

' say was heretofore to many great lands in England,
 ' which was his proper surname, who was banished
 ' therefrom by the conquest of the bastard of Nor-
 ' mandy; and so came in Scotland to queen MAR-
 ' GARET, in the time of MALCOLM CANMORE, who
 ' was received right thankfully for her cause, because
 ' he was the nearest and greatest of her friends at
 ' that time; and for his victorious and manly deeds
 ' in defending and maintaining the commonweal of
 ' Scotland, king MALCOLM gave him the lands of
 ' Wachoobdale, which lie adjacent to Anandale,
 ' which of that house descended our forebeers, who
 ' were afterwards lords of Glenesk and earls of Craw-
 ' ford; and that, by the manly and virtuous govern-
 ' ment of our forebeers and progenitors, who used
 ' themselves so manly and truly to the crown, they
 ' were rewarded richly, and got by the great liberali-
 ' ty of the princes of Scotland, seeing their victorious
 ' deeds; and in special, of ROBERT II. who gave us
 ' the lands of Crawford, and made us earls thereof;
 ' as you may hear hereafter how he succeeded: For
 ' afterward descended out of our house, a noble house,
 ' called Lord Lindsay of the Byres, who reigns and
 ' flourishes in great fame to this day, in estimation and
 ' honour with their prince, and the authority; though
 ' we have sidden therefrom at this time. But long
 ' time hereafter descended ALEXANDER LINDSAY,
 ' that fought and was slain at the bridge of Stirling;
 ' right manfully fighting in company with earl THO-
 ' MAS RANDAL, in defence of king ROBERT THE
 ' BRUCE, contrary the English-men. This ALEX-
 ' ANDER begat ALEXANDER, who was slain at the
 ' battle of Duplin, for the defence and preservation of
 ' our young king DAVID II. from the tyranny of
 ' his enemies. Short while after this battle, DAVID
 ' LINDSAY succeeded both to his father's lands, and
 ' other great lordships given to him by the authori-
 ' ty, for his manhood and service done for the plea-
 ' sure of the crown and commonweal of the country;
 ' for he was slain at Halidon-hill, when he was fight-
 ' ing furiously with the English-men, debating the

' liberty of Scotland. JAMES, son to his brother
 ' JOHN, succeeded to him, who was lord of Glenesk.
 ' He fought upon the bridge of London, in singular
 ' battle, with the lord of Welles, a strong champion,
 ' and in great estimation with the king of England,
 ' notwithstanding his strength and might, to no less
 ' shame and marvel of his adversaries, than great
 ' laud and praise of this our native country: Whom
 ' king ROBERT II. rewarded with the lands and
 ' castle of Crawford, whom through our earldom is
 ' so named, for his singular behaviour toward the
 ' commonweal of this realm: For, by his counsel
 ' and convoy, all things pertaining to our realm, in
 ' the time of ROBERT II. were ruled with greater
 ' craft and wisdom, than in any ages of before. This
 ' JAMES begat DAVID, who was my grand-father,
 ' who deserved great laud and praise, for the diligent
 ' inquisition made by him in the searching of the
 ' traitors that put down thy father of worthy me-
 ' mory; and took so great travel in the punishing
 ' thereof, that he never desisted till every one were
 ' condignly punished for their shameful treason. So
 ' no man doubts, but thy excellency knows perfectly,
 ' by our Scottish histories, the wisdom, constancy,
 ' strength and gravity, with the singular knowlege
 ' of warlike affairs, and sovereign manhood of my
 ' forebeers and predecessors, who, every one, have
 ' lost their lives for the liberty and welfare of this
 ' realm. But, fy on me, most miserable and unwor-
 ' thy traitor, that am so forgetful of all thir men!
 ' What mischief was in my mind, when I adjoyned
 ' me in armour with the traitors that conspired a-
 ' gainst thy majesty, and, by my cruel doings, com-
 ' pelled all Angus, with many others, to invade them
 ' that were coming for thy defence, for the suppress-
 ' sing of false conjured traitors? O wilful and fool-
 ' hardy enterprize! O subtile and temerarious pur-
 ' pose! O high fury and madness! O miserable
 ' chance to be lamented! Not only have I brought
 ' myself in this misery, but also have brought the whole

' nobles
 '

“nobles and gentlemen of Angus to extreme dangers, both of their lives and tinsel of their houses. What shall I say or do? Or where shall I go? Or by what moyen shall I rid me of this mischief? All law positively denies that I should live, but raves the life out of my body. The acts and statutes of the realm require, that I should suffer a shameful death. It is of truth there is no remeid for me, nor none of my adherents, who casually, as men, have fallen I will not say, have slidden, from their due obedience, through the great fear and dreadour of me, unless thy royal majesty, who hast the power both of life and death, wilt have consideration and pity of us, and grant us grace and favour, which the laws and acts of parliament deny to us all utterly; yet your grace may do better, because kings and princes may dispense with the laws and statutes. Attour, it is a miserable and lamentable case, to see the noble and antient house of Lindseys, conquest with great wisdom, manhood, care and travel, to be destroyed for ever, for the offence of one only man. I pray thee therefore, most merciful prince, that I be not debarred nor excluded from the fruit of thy gentrice, nor yet exiled and denied of thy humanity, which has been shewn so largely to diverse others oft before. For if it be a great manhood to overthrow and vanquish thy enemy; yet it is no less praise, with good advisement, to have ruth and pity of him that he hath overcome; because that is understood to be a sure puissance, when he doth moderate his own strength and power, and knows how to overcome his own affections. I regard not mine own personage no manner of way; therefore I am content to underly what pain thy majesty pleases to provide upon me, either to be hanged, to be riven with the wild beasts, to be drowned, to be cast over a crag, to be banished, or else to be casten in prison till I die. Finally, it is neither the fearful mourning of my dearest spouse, nor the greeting of my bairns, nor the lamentable sobbing of my friends, nor yet the her ship of my
lands;

‘lands, that moves me so much, as the decay and
 ‘falling of our house, and the lamentable chance and
 ‘fortune of the noblemen of Angus, with the rest of
 ‘my adherents; whose lands, lives and goods stand
 ‘in danger for my cause. Have ruth and pity, most
 ‘clement prince, of the noble house and surname of
 ‘Lindsays. Have compassion of the noblemen that
 ‘assisted to my faction, that they, at the least, be
 ‘not spuilzied of their lives and heritage only for my
 ‘offence and fault.’

When the earl thus had ended, the nobles and gentlemen of Angus, who came in his company to seek remission, held up their hands to the king, most dolorously crying mercy; till their sobbing and sighing cutted their words so sore, that almost their prayers could not be understood. Through the which there rose such ruth and pity among the company, that none could contain themselves from tears and mourning: And so every man began to implore the king’s majesty for respect to this earl and his assisters; but principally JAMES KENNEDY bishop of St. Andrews, and Sir WILLIAM CREIGHTON, by whose persuation the earl came at that time to seek mercy, solicited greatly for him and his assisters, whom he compelled, contrary their hearts, to maintain his treason and conspiracy; praying the king, of his benignity, to spare them; for the experience of this mischief, that had befallen them by this rebellion, should make them the more humble, faithful and obedient to their prince, and to serve his majesty, than if they had never fallen before. Attour, so great a man’s repentance, humble submission and desire were not to be lightlied nor despised. ‘Have consideration,’ said they, and regard to the dangerous times, with the other circumstances presently within the realm; for if such a thing be upon the face of the earth, as faith, repentance and truth, no man goodly may believe, nor could suspect either fraud or guile.’ By thir mens words, lamentable gesture and countenance, they overcame and moved the king; and specially

cially the request and prayers of thir men that stood about him.

So, remission being granted to them, the king bade them be of good courage, and be of a better mind towards the commonwealth than they were before, saying, 'That he had neither desire of the noble-
' mens lands, nor goods, nor lives, but rather to
' conquest their hearts and friendships; and that it
' is truth, that he was ireful contrary all conspirators,
' bet yet would settle his ire so soon as they became
' penitent of their offences and crime: And also he
' understood, that it became a prince to be revenged
' upon rebellers and injurers of his majesty; yet, not-
' withstanding, he would use such moderance here-
' in, and deal with them as gently as he could, with-
' out danger of others, or evil example. Attour, he
' desired no greater revenge on them, than to see a
' man of great courage and spirit, attempting, short
' senlyne, temerariouly such thing above his degree
' and strength, now rendering himself freely, with-
' out compulsion, to that estate, that he granted he
' had no other refuge, nor hope of restitution, but
' in the king's clemency and gentrice, and that he had
' asked mercy and forgiveness, upon his knees, him
' whom he had pursued most cruely, adjoined and
' sociated with the common enemies of the realm.'

How soon the king had said this, and such like words, shewing his mind inclined to mercy, he received the earl and his assiters into his grace and favours, absolved them from lese-majesty, restored them to their dignity again, former estate and honours, which was great joy and gladness to them all that beheld the same. The earl of Crawford, gloried with his happy eventure, convoyed the king's majesty in the north land, and with him a chosen company of young able men of Angus; and, in the month thereafter, banquetted him right magnificently in the place of Finhaven, promising faithfully to be ready, with all his forces, to overthrow and fight against the common enemies of the realm, when and where it pleased the king's majesty.

This

This earl, being on this ways reconciled with the king's majesty, gave over all tyranny, and became a faithful subject, and a sicker target to the king's lieges, having nothing in more reverence and honour, than the king's royal person. At last being, on this manner, at quietness and rest, when he appeared to his friends, and all other of the country, to be in greatest prosperity, fortune tholed not the happy estate of this man long time to continue: For, in the sixth month after this restitution, as said is, he took the hot fever, and died in the year of God, one thousand four hundred and fifty four, and was buried, with great triumph and pomp, in the Greyfriars of Dundee, in his forebeers sepulchre. In this same year the college of Glasgow was founded and erected. In the year preceding, Mahomet the prince of the Turks besieged and wan the noble and ancient town of Constantinople, and used great slaughter and cruelty upon the Christians wherever they came (NICHOLAS I. being pope of Rome) and made the same, from thenceforth, his principal dwelling-place, and yet make their residence there, until this our days.

In the beginning of the next year, which was one thousand four hundred and fifty five, there was a parliament set at Edinburgh, where JAMES earl of Douglas, BEATRIX, his brother's wife, pretended spouse to himself, GEORGE earl of Ormond, JOHN lord of Balweny, were all together forfeaulted and condemned to death. There was a convention made thereafter, where the king, calling to remembrance how that the earldom of Murray was rest from JAMES CREIGHTON, who married the eldest daughter of the earl of Murray, as said is, by the subtle craft of WILLIAM earl of Douglas, and given to ARCHIBALD his brother; he restored the same to him again: But when JAMES CREIGHTON perceived that he could not joyse the lands without the hatred of many gentlemen, he again put it in the king's hand; and his son thereafter, called GEORGE CREIGHTON, in recompensation thereof, was made earl of Caithness.

ness. Attour, WILLIAM HAY, then constable of this realm, was the first belted earl of Errol; and sundry other noble knights, such as Darnly, Hales, Lyle and Lorn, were made lords and barons of parliament.

After this council was dissolved, the king caused raise a new army, to pass upon the common enemies of this realm; and first invaded Galloway, which was rendered without any difficulty, with all the strengths thereof. Thereafter passed to Douglassdale, where greater cruelty was used than in Galloway; and the whole men and goods given to be a just prey to be taken up by the king's men of war, because the inhabitants were stubborn, and made them to gainstand the king's authority. But when the earl of Douglas's lands and men were overthrown with such calamities, Sir JAMES HAMILTON, the earl of Douglas's familiar servant, was sent to England for support against the king of Scotland, in defence of the earl of Douglas; but he obtained no men, but money. The which being obtained, he persuaded the earl of Douglas to offer the king extreme battle. To that effect he caused take up bands and men of war, to the number of three hundred horsemen, and three hundred footmen, to be under the captainry and government of JAMES HAMILTON. And also he caused seek all clients and familiars, and his tender kindred and friends, with all them that favoured him in the realm of Scotland at that time, charging them to be ready at the appointed day, to come to him, and debate him and his lands against the king, when he came to pursue him, and specially if he sieged Abergorn.

When the king heard of this provision of the earl of Douglas, he was greatly affected, thinking that he had wasted himself, and his money, and had tired all his subjects in the pursuit, harshness and daunting of the earl of Douglas; the which he thought, by that extremity that he used toward the earl of Douglas, was occasion, if the said earl might be party to him by any way, that he might give him battle, either by
 himself

tinſel or winning, to put the whole realm in jeopardy. The which the king was very loath to do; and ſo the king was very penſive in his mind, what was beſt to be done in defence contrary the earl of Douglas, whom he knew to have ſo many favourers at that time, that it was impoſſible to him to be party to the ſaid earl, if he pleaſed to riſe againſt him, and give him battle. Yet the king deviſed a ſubtile and crafty mean againſt the ſaid earl, that is to ſay, he cauſed the word gang to the earl of Douglas's ears, that he was to paſs out of the country, and that for fear of the earl of Douglas. Thir things coming to the earl of Douglas, he was very rejoiced hereat, and was the ſlacker in the raiſing of his men and army againſt him, thinking, that he ſhould obtain his purpoſe without any battle or gainſtanding of the king. But, in this mean time, the king cauſed the earl of Orkney, the earl of Angus, with other ſundry barons and gentlemen, to the number of fix thouſand men, with all proviſion, to be ready at a certain day, as he advertiſed them, to paſs to the caſtle of Abercorn and to ſiege it.

In this mean time, the earl of Douglas hearing tell, that the king's army was come to the caſtle of Abercorn, and was ſieging it, he believed ſurely that the king had been there himſelf: Therefore he ſent and warned all his kindred and friends, and elicits, and all that would do for him in Scotland, charging them to meet him at Douglas, the tenth day hereafter, with twenty days victuals, to paſs with him to the caſtle of Abercorn, and there to reſcue the ſame, or elſe to give the king battle, and cauſe him either to fight or flee out of Scotland.

The king, hearing this, was ſtupified in his mind, thinking his army was over little, at that time, to debate againſt the earl of Douglas: For it was ſhown to him he would be forty thouſand men in armour, againſt the king, at that time. The king, ſeeing no refuge, paſſed in a ſhip haſtily to St. Andrews, there to meet with biſhop JAMES KENNEDY,

and

and to have his counsel thereunto: Showing him, that the earl of Douglas was gathering a great army, either to fight with him, or to chase him out of the country; and also he knew no support to be had hastily at that time: Therefore he desired his counsel, what he thought best to be done hereintill. This bishop was a wise and godly man, and answered the king in this manner, as after follows, saying, 'Sir, I beseech your grace, that you will take a little meat to refresh you, and I will pass to my orature, and pray to God for you, and the commonwealth of this realm and country.'

This being spoken, the king passed to his disjoyn, and the bishop to his orature, to make his prayer to Almighty God, to open his mouth, to give him knowledge and utterance to give that noble prince, who was destitute and comfortless of all good counsel, that he might give him instruction and learning how he should escape that great peril and danger, apparently to fall at that time. Then this bishop took the king's grace by the hand, and led him to his orature, beseeeking him to make his earnest prayers to the Almighty, that he would strengthen him with his holy spirit, that he might, with a bold courage, resist his enemies, who were risen against him contrary the commandment of God, and commonweal of the country; beseeeking God, of his mighty power and grace, that he would grant him victory of these conspirators and rebellers, who were risen against him without any cause made by him: And specially, that he would grant him the upper hand of the earl of Douglas and his complices, like as he had done before of him and his oppressors, when they oppressed the commonwealth of the country.

This being done, the king passed in this manner, to his devotion, as this holy bishop had commanded him. And after, when the king had ended his prayer to Almighty God, then this bishop, seeing the king desolate of good counsel, and despaired of good hope or success of any victory to fall to him contrary his enemies, caused him to pass into his study

study or secret house; where his bows and arrows lay, with other sundry jewels of the said bishop. Then this bishop let this noble prince see a similitude, the which might bring him to experience and comfort, how he might invade against the uproar of the conspirators, and specially against the earl of Douglas, and the leave of his complices. The said bishop pulled out a great sheaf of arrows knit together in a whang of leather, and delivered them to the king in his hand, and bade him set them to his knee and break them. The king answered, 'It is impossible, because there is so many together of the said arrows, and knit so fast with leather, that no man can break them at once.' The bishop answered and said, 'That is true, but yet he would let the king see, that he could break them;' and pulled out one by one, or two by two, till he had broken them all; and said unto the king, 'Sir, you must even do in this manner with your barons that have risen against you, which are so many of number, and knit so fast together against you in conspiracy, that you, on no ways, can get them broken, but by this practice that I have shown you by the similitude of thir arrows; that is to say, you must conquest and break by lord and lord, by himself; for ye may not deal with them all at once. And further, make a proclamation out-through your realm, to all thieves and traitors, and all them that have offended against you, to grant them free remission, to be good men in time coming, and now to serve your grace at this instant time in your necessity. The which being done, I trust your grace shall get more favours than shall your contrary party.'

The king, hearing this wise counsel, took courage, and made his proclamation, as foresaid is, in all parts of this realm, to the effect foresaid. He pulled up his banner in St. Andrews, and past to Falkland, on the first night, in arrayed battle. On the morrow he went to Stirling, accompanied with this noble bishop JAMES KENNEDY, with all the lords of Fife, Angus

Angus and Strathern, and remained in Stirling till the north part of Scotland came to him, which were to the number, with the king, of all people, thirty thousand men. Hereafter, awfully, with displayed banner, came forward against the earl of Douglas, who was lying in the camp of battle on the south side of the water of Caron, a little by-east the bridge, with the number of forty thousand men, making for to rescue the castle of Abercorn; and thinking no less into his mind, than he should go to the king and give him battle, or else to cause him to leave the realm. But, on the other side, bishop JAMES KENNEDY, used a crafty mean to break the earl of Douglas's army, and sent a secret servant of his own to JAMES HAMILTON of Cadyow, who was principal captain to the earl of Douglas at this time, and had three hundred footmen and three hundred horsemen at his governance, upon the earl of Douglas's expences, to charge and pass with him where he pleased; yet, notwithstanding, the said JAMES HAMILTON being advertised by his came, bishop JAMES KENNEDY, of the king's good mind and favour towards him, which he appurchased to him by his moyen, showing to him, that if he would return and leave the earl of Douglas at that time, and come and serve the king's grace, he should have a full remission of all things bypast, and great reward in time to come. The which he obtained as after follows. And the said JAMES took to be advised in this matter, and gave the messenger a good answer. Notwithstanding this, JAMES having a kindly love to the earl of Douglas, and a respect to his own favour, pondered the cause in his own mind, thinking that he would essay the earl of Douglas's mind in the said cause, what he was purposed to do at that time; howbeit he knew well the matter to be unjust both against God and his native prince: Therefore his conscience moved him, at that time, to be delivered of that unhappy servitude contrary the king and commonwealth of the country. And, in this mean time, there came a herald from the king's army,

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charging

charging the earl of Douglas and his complices to skale their army, under the pain of treason. At thir novels and charge, the earl of Douglas mocked and scorned the herald; and, miscontent, caused blow his trumpets, and put his men in order, and marched forward to have met the king, and soughten with him. But from time he saw the king's army in fight, and abiding him stoutly with so great a number, his courage was something abased, and so were all the lords and barons that were with him, who had heard the king's proclamation, wherein was granted a remission to all them that had offended against his majesty in times past; and if then immediately they would come to him, and be good men in times coming, that all faults should be discharged bygone.

Thir motives, with other more, moved the gentlemen and commons hearts, that were with the earl of Douglas at that time, for to favour the king's party better. The earl of Douglas seeing this, that his folke had tint some part of courage, and were not so well willing as he required; therefore he retired his army home again to their camps, where they lay all the night, trusting to instruct them, and to give them better courage and hardiment than they had before, that they might pass forward with him, on the morrow, as he pleased. But of this purpose, all the lords and captains of the earl of Douglas were not contented; and in special JAMES HAMILTON, who passed to the earl of Douglas incontinent, and required of him what was his mind, if he would give the king battle or not: and shew to him, the longer he delayed, there would be the fewer number at his purpose; and the king was ever the more able against him. The said earl answered to JAMES HAMILTON, saying, 'If he was tired, he might depart when he pleased.' Of the which answer the said JAMES was well contented, and that same night passed to the king, where he was well received and thankfully, and all things remitted bypast. That same night, the rest of the barons and gentlemen, seeing

seeing the departing of JAMES HAMILTON, took such fear, that every man passed away, that on the morrow the earl of Douglas was not a hundred men, by his own house: Who, seeing this, took purpose, and hastily fled in Anandale, where he was soon thereafter vanquished by a band of men of war of the king's. And so this prince obtained great victory and peace, without any slaughter of the lieges at that time; and through the counsel of this noble bishop, and the returning of JAMES HAMILTON to the king. Yet the king, seeing nothing on his contrary but bare fields, knowing well that the earl of Douglas was departed in this manner as I have shewn; yet, notwithstanding, the king gave JAMES HAMILTON no credit in the beginning; and thereafter sent him to be warded in the castle of Roslin with the earl of Orkney, till he had won the castle of Abercorn, where he lost many of his folks, and sundry right evil wounded. But when he did remember, that his whole victory over the Douglas had fallen to him without any blood, or stroke of sword, through the Hamilton's leaving the earl of Douglas, he received him as a familiar and tender friend; so, at the last, his son got the king's eldest daughter in marriage.

But when the earl of Douglas understood himself desert and left by many of his principal friends, by whose maintainance and assistance he had enterprized so high matters contrary the king's authority, he fled in England with his brother, to conquest some support to recover the thing that he lost; and thereafter, short while, he returned with an army of men, and came in Anandale, which was garnished with the king's men of war for the time; which men of war assembled together, and met JAMES DOUGLAS and his brother, with their assistants, and fought manfully contrary them, and put them to flight. In this battle was slain ARCHIBALD earl of Murray, with diverse other gentlemen, vageit men and commons. And GEORGE earl of Ormond, after that he was wounded and taken, and kept very straitly in prison till he was

healed of his wounds ; and thereafter brought to the king in Edinburgh, and beheaded for his rebellion. The earl himself and JOHN lord Balveny escaped very narrowly through a wood, wherein they fled for safety of their lives. It is said, that the first advertiser of this prosperous success brought with him ARCHIBALD DOUGLAS's head, who was received by the king with great thanks.

After this unhappy battle, albeit JAMES DOUGLAS was destitute of his brother, kindred and friends, nor yet had he great hope of any support of England ; yet, not the less never diffiding of good fortune, he passed to DONALD lord of the isles and earl of Ross, being in Dunstaffage for the time ; whom he knew, of his nature, to be proud and inclined to mischief and wickedness, and solisted him to assist to his rebellion, and found that his opinion beguiled him not ; for this DONALD gathered a company of mischievous cursed limmers, and invaded the king in every airth, wherever he come, with great cruelty, neither spairing old nor young, without regard to wives, old, feeble and decrippd women, or young infants in the cradle, which would have moved a heart of stone to commiseration ; and burned villages, towns, and corns, so much thereof as might not goodly be carried away, by the great prize of goods that he took. After that he invaded Argyle in the same manner, with the isle of Arran, whereof, when he had gotten the castle by fraud and guile, he made it equal with the earth ; and syne he chased GEORGE bishop of the isles and of Argyle, and slew sundry of his friends and servants, and himself escaped very narrowly, by fleeing to a strength. At last he past to Lochaber, and therefrom to Murray, where he invaded with no less cruelty than the rest before ; and specially where there were any favourers of the king's authority. Attour, he destroyed the town and castle of Inverness, after that he had gotten into it by a deceitful subtilty. This he did not so much to please and gratify JAMES DOUGLAS, as he did rejoyce to foster mischief, cruelty and wickedness,

edness, to which he was given allenarly, through the impiety of his own ingine.

When such civil war rang in Scotland, the king of England, perceiving a commodious opportunity to take advantage, as himself and his predecessors were wont to do, ever since the first habitation of the isle of Britain, by either of thir two nations, commanded that his borders should break, and incursions should be made. The which was done as he commanded, without knowledge or expectation of the Scottish-men, who, having no suspicion of foreign nations, were spuilzied of their bestial, their corns, and houses burnt, and sundry gentlemen and commons hurt and slain for the defence of their goods and gear: So we perceive that England never forgot their old quarrels upon small or no regard, when they saw an apparent advantage to have been masters; and, by the contrary, they were fain to thig and cry for peace and good-will of Scottish-men, when there was unity and concord amongst the nobles living under subjection and obedience of a manly prince. But albeit the king of Scotland perceived that the realm was so overgrown with civil wars, on the one part; and that it should be both shame and skaith to himself and the realm, on the other part, to thole so high injuries without remeid; and therefore dissembled till a time more gaining to be revenged of their enemies.

At this time BEATRIX DOUGLAS, the maiden of Galloway, seeing nothing but wracks to come to her pretended husband JAMES DOUGLAS, fled to the king, crying, 'Mercy for her offences, laying the crime upon JAMES DOUGLAS, and his wicked flatterers and assisters; who not only had filed her in the contracting of that ungodly marriage, but also, against her will, had forced her to the same: So she, being destitute of all good helpers and counsellors, could not goodly gainstand or resist so great a party; till now, having the opportunity (says she) of his absence to flee the society of a wicked and ungodly life, I came straightway

to seek the king's majesty's safeguard, protection, and remission for the offences bygone, which was a crime committed rather of necessity than wilfully, or of set purpose.

The king, after that he had forgiven all offences, and received this gentlewoman in his favours, he married her to his brother JOHN earl of Athole, the Black Knight of Lorn's son, and tochered her with the lordship of Balveny.

When DONALD of the Isles his wife understood, that the king was so favourable to JAMES DOUGLAS's wife, as ye have heard, she, in-like manner, fled under his protection, and to eschew the cruel tyranny of her husband, which she dreaded at divers times before. The king, calling to remembrance that this noblewoman was married, by his own counsel, with DONALD of the Isles, he gave her therefore sufficient rents and lands, whereon she should live honourably conform to her estate.

Not long time after this, PATRICK THORNTON, one of the king's majesty's own court, but a favourer of the Douglasses faction, cruelly without any ruth, slew JOHN SANDILANDS of Calder, and ALLAN STUART a nobleman, beside Dumbarton, because they were the king's majesty's adherents; which was not long unpunished: For the king made such diligence, till he apprehended both the tyrant and his complices, and put them to a shameful death as they deserved.

Short while after this, sundry of the nobles and great men deceased; such as WILLIAM earl of Errol and constable of Scotland, and GEORGE CREIGHTON earl of Caithness; who being vexed long with great infirmity, because he had no sons to succeed to his place, he resigned the lands, which he got to him and his heir's male only, in the king's majesty's hands, seeing there was no life to him: For the lands should have fallen to the crown after his decease. Sir WILLIAM CREIGHTON, sometime chancellor, deceased the same year; a man of great foresight, singular manhood, and a faithful subject, a sicker target of the
common.

commonwealth unto his life's end, and ALEXANDER LINDSAY earl of Crawford, of whom mention is made before; in whose room DAVID his son succeeded, one of the noblest of these days. Many other nobles and gentlemen, whose names are irksome to write.

Not long after, Sir HARRY PERCY earl of Northumberland, and JAMES DOUGLAS lately forfait-ed, entered in the borders with a great army, both of Scottish and Englishmen, and wasted all with fire and sword wherever they came; till, at the last, the earl of Angus met them, with a company of chosen men, and put them to the flight: For, when both the armies most cruelly were fighting, with uncertain victory on every side, a great part of the Englishmen, not small of estimation, greedier for prey of gear, than careful of their honour and welfare of their lives, began to spuilzie and drive away their enemies goods, and left their neighbours in battle, void of their support, which made an easy pathway to the Scottishmen that day to obtain the victory. In this battle many Englishmen were slain, to the number of threescore, beside these that were slain in the chase. Ten gentlemen taken captives, and fourscore Scottishmen were slain, with some captives, which were taken in the skirmishing before the shock of the battle.

When this victory was told to the king's majesty, and how that the Englishmen had wasted so much on the borders, without any occasion or break of him to England, he lamented sorely, that the realm had been overthrown in itself with civil wars and discord, and himself so troubled day by day, that he might not goodly be revenged of their sakeless injuries and incursions. Attour, it offended him most of all, that his enemies raged more in their insolence; and that he was compassed with rebellion on every hand; so that he could not enterprize to requite their invasions, without great loss of men and goods, and putting the realm in extreme danger and hazard of his enemies. And, in the mean time, when the
king

king was musing most highly upon his purpose, DONALD earl of Ross and lord of the isles sent messengers to his majesty, to be remitted of all rebellion and offences that he had done: Thinking well that the king was so merciful to the earl of Crawford, that he would be no less merciful to him; but yet would not put himself in peril, as Crawford did: And therefore sent one of his special friends, who obtained remission to him, partly through the king's own humanity, and partly by the request and intercession of the nobles of the realm. But yet the king's majesty handled the matter very craftily, and found the moyen how he would not openly and plainly forgive, at that present, the wicked and treasonable deeds of that wicked tyrant, nor yet he would make the messengers for to despair of their chief's remission, but answered them gently to hold them in hope, saying, ' That the earl of Ross never deserved at his hand, now to be remitted of his cruelty and rebellion lately committed; yet, not the less, seeing all men on earth, and especially kings and princes that represent the very divine majesty of God, (who also, of his excellent nature, receives mankind to the bosom of his mercy, so soon as he repents him of his sin, not for any good deed that man may do to recompence him with) should thirst no man's blood, but be gracious and merciful to all men that are become penitent of their misdeed: yet because it pertains to God allenarly to know the inward thoughts and hearts of men, and that man's nature cannot perceive nor understand further of another, than he may see by outward signs and tokens; and therefore he would that the earl of Ross should do some notable act, wherethrough all men might understand him to repent intirely with his heart, before that he should receive full remission of all offences. Attour, that the earl of Ross should refund the skaiths for all the towns, fortalices and houses that he either had burnt or casten down; and, by that, restore and satisfy, at the least, the whole goods and gear to every

every man, which he had rest and taken away.
 This being done, the earl should be remitted, with
 all his partakers and complices, of all offences
 bygone.

This being done, and put to rest, and a final end
 made of all sedition and civil discord in the north
 isles of Scotland, the king's majesty set his whole
 care and mind to invade England, and either to be
 revenged, or else repaired of all oppressions and in-
 juries committed without offence contrary his realm
 and lieges; and, to bring his purpose more easy to
 effect, he caused convene the nobility to a certain day, to
 consult and be resolved by what moyen it might be
 done most commodiously. But behold during the
 time of his convention, there came ambassadors from
 RICHARD duke of York, EDWARD MORTIMER earl
 of Warwick, and their confederate friends, to seek
 support of men of war contrary HENRY king of
 England, whom they purposed to depose of his roy-
 al dignity. For albeit this HENRY, through his
 own slothful negligence and wicked counsel, had lost
 France and Normandy, which his forebeers had
 conquest to his hand; yet, in so high matters and
 desperate affairs, that most misliked the consultation
 of the greatest and noblest men, whom it behoved
 to spend their lives and lands for the recovering and
 defence thereof, he admitted nor called none such
 men to his council, but admitted and extolled slaves
 and men of small estate, by reason they could flatter
 him, and that was most delectable to his conceit;
 and he preferred them to the administration and
 governance of the commonwealth, before and above
 such nobles and gentlemen of the realm

* * * * * manhood, the
 glory of England, martial deeds * * *

* * * * * spread through all the world,
 were moved to conspire and convene their selves to
 deprive him of the crown: and specially the noble-
 men descended of the king's house, to whom the
 just right of the crown of England, which besel

* * * * * third son to ED-
 WARD.

WARD III. who was lawful heir to RICHARD II. that * * * of his body were destroyed and put down by HENRY IV. So now, at this present, the duke of York, thinking that he had better occasion to recover the crown than HENRY IV. had to rave the same from RICHARD II. and LEONEL's posterity, joined himself in this conspiracy of thir noblemen, by whose moyen and assistance he purposed to recover his right and heritage, withholden from him and his fore-beers. But because they were not equal, neither in riches nor power to the king, within himself, they sent to the king of Scotland for support, promising perpetual friendship, with great rewards, if they brought their purpose to effect. So, when thir ambassadors got presence of the king's majesty, in sight of the earls and lords convened for the time, the principal of them made this harangue and oration in manner following.

‘ How wicked and ungodly a thing it is, most invincible and potent prince, to place an ignorant in high estate and regiment of a country; (how may it be that a man, that cannot guide himself, shall wisely guide others) by the contrary, how necessary it is that a wise and potent prince have the ruling over a realm; we have the experience of both in our days, by diverse manner of ways: For all kings and nations, most redoubted prince, marvel of thy craft and wisdom, who, being but a young man, or rather a child, hath set and put to rest this realm of Scotland, without great slaughter or effusion of blood, by an excellent wit and divine providence, which, in thy minority, was wrecked and divided by the seditions and factions of potent men within the same. So we must, of very force, grant thy felicity and happy progress in all thy doings, before we enter to intreat of other matters: Therefore we pray God, that thy prosperous beginning may endure perpetually for ever. But our king HENRY, O how unlike is he unto thy manners and conditions! And how far

far different from thy usage in good government
of the realm! And how doth he carry himself!
It is no less unknown to thy majesty than to us.
For, by the ignorance of that man, infected and
corrupted with the wicked counsel of flatterers, not
only is the flourishing renown of England suppressed,
and turned to scorn and mockery; but also a great
part of the empire and dominion of France, yea,
nothing inferior to the realm of England, which
was conquest by our forebeers, is quite and lost.
So, seeing it is so, that we are oppressed with slaves,
which the king hath promoted, (the nobles of the
realm lightlied, and set aside from high dignity to
base estate) who, being placed in such power and
authority, have such power over the nobility, that
they dare not draw their breath, much less justly to
complain for any offence, or to give counsel what
is best to be done for the preservation of the com-
monwealth, which the nobles of the realm cannot
suffer longer; seeing it is both contrary the com-
modity of a commonwealth; and also, being suf-
fered, shall bring our realm to wreck, and the inha-
bitants thereof to utter extermination: So it shall
please you understand, most victorious prince, that
the nobles of England take no unwonted nor new
purpose now in hand, in the depriving of him, and
putting another in his place. For our noble pro-
genitors and forebeers debarred HENRY III. his
son, called EDMOND CRUCKBACK, from the crown,
because he was not so lusty, and of so gaining dis-
position of his body, as was thought expedient for
a prince, to attempt such matters as were then ado;
albeit he was a man of good wit and singular in-
gine, to whom the title of the crown most justly
appertained. Nought the less, the realm of Eng-
land having sharp wars in France, thought it to be
expedient for the government of the people, and
bearing of the government above the army, to
choose a man, not only wise and prudent of spirit,
but also that was lusty of body, manful, stout and
hardy. And, for this purpose, they seeing Ed-
WARD

WARD, younger brother to this man, of singular courage, of no less craft and wisdom than his brother EDMOND, and, in beauty, more excellent, and above all men within the realm with strongness and ability; the lords made him king, and debarred this EDMOND. So our progenitors did prefer one person to another, even the youngest to the eldest, and, debarring the eldest therefrom, chose the younger. So it may appear how much is wisdom commended above foolishness, in a person that bears charge in a commonwealth. Attour, how damnable it is to have an ignorant captain of war, witless, and destitute of all good counsel. The unhappy mischance will bear witness of the loss and tinsel of the bounds of France, which was England's before. And suchlike, in peace, to have a foolish prince, corrupted and led away with flatterers and wicked counsel, not only understand we that is dangerous, but also has vexed Scotland so long with civil wars, as thou may have experience, which have so oft been wasted and spuilzied, when HENRY of England knew that thy majesty might not goodly wait upon foreign wars: Wherefore we exhort your majesty to enarm yourself to this effect, not only for our cause, but also rather for your own, and to revenge the injuries that Scotland has sustained: even to be revenged, I say, upon the principal author of all mischief and oppression: How honest and necessary therefore is the ground and foundation of our purpose and intentions, by thir reasons foresaid may be easily understood. Now, let us see how easily this matter, without slaughter or effusion of blood, may be brought to pass, if ye please to support us; which we hope indeed (and what reward therefore shall be) which being declared, we shall shortly make an end. And first, I think it necessary to know of what strength and power is the king of Scotland; and syne what is the matter we may do: And then I believe the matter shall be manifest to us all. When the realm of England did flourish in chivalry, and the whole bounds and dominions, which

which our predecessors with their conquests did augment thereto, were not diminished, our strength and power, without flattery, I say, was so excellent, that no man of wholesome judgment but will grant we had no part equal in Europe. And now, seeing we lost the bounds within the realm of France, and sought help of Scotland, wherewith some hope was to recover the same again, without which we despair all utterly; in so far, that if either of the factions within England might get support of any foreign prince, the other easily should be overcome. Attour, there was never sedition nor discord, till now of late, within the realm of England, but it toucheth all as one: But seeing all was sleuthed, there was no mischief could befall our king, but was delivered unto us; and the whole nobility, so long irked and vexed with the tyranny of king HENRY, to loose themselves out of this yoke or thralldom, has taken purpose to surrogate RICHARD duke of York in his royal place; for our faction far surmounts the king's assistance, both in nobility and wisdom. And albeit we doubt of the popular, which apparently, to the eyes of men, favour the king's party, yet we have experience, that they are so variable and facile, that they desire nothing more than a great man that would begin the alteration of the present estate: As may well be known by HENRY of Ireland; when he gave the commons to understand, that since their liberty was rest from them by the avaritious greediness of courtiers, for the maintenance of their insolent folly and ambition, that he would punish and put an order to the king and courtiers, if they would assist his enterprise; which was taken in hand by this HENRY's persuasion, as is manifest to this whole isle, and had taken the effect, without doubt, if the subtil engine and craft of the chancellor had not stanch'd the same; yea, in so far, that we now presently should have had this matter, neither to begin nor to end. Finally, that we may make an end of the thing that we have begun, we come now, most re-

‘nowned prince, to thy majesty, to get support, promising rich rewards therefore, which the duke of York, and earl of Warwick, with the advice of the whole nobility of their opinion, have commanded us to promise to thy majesty, if thou wilt assist them; and what bounds and lands your grace’s progenitors possessed and joyed sometime in Northumberland, with Berwick, and all the fields adjacent thereto, for reward and recompence. And, last of all, a perpetual amity and friendship to be bound up betwixt the two realms.’

When the ambassadors had ended their harangue, on this manner, the king’s grace caused him and his companions to remove them, until he had consulted upon an answer; and when the king had advised with the nobles, and the ambassadors come again, the king said on this manner.

‘It is not unknown to us the just title that the duke of York hath to the crown of England; but the assistance of my realm should not be granted temerariouly; neither should the crown be taken from a prince, who is, by universal consent, already crowned, for a light cause, without great trial and deliberation, and knowlege of the cause: But that I refer to the wisdom and convention of the nobility of England. And as for arms and forces, be assured, that I have just cause to denounce war to the king of England. First, seeing he did vex my realm and lieges sakelessly with incursions, the time when the same was perturbed with civil wars. Then also, when I did seek redress, king HENRY delayed to give an answer thereupon: Therefore, if the duke of York, with the earls Warwick and Salisbury, with the nobles of their faction, will keep promise, they shall be assured, that my whole strength and forces shall be ready to invade your king’s favourers with fire and sword, wherever I come, and shall do my utter diligence to expel king HENRY, and to restore the duke of York to his own place.’

So,

So, when the ambassadors had received their answer, and faithful promise taken and given on every side, they departed, and reported the king of Scotland's answer to the duke of York and earl of Warwick.

In this mean time the king of Scotland commanded, by open proclamation, all men to be ready at a certain day, with armour and victuals, to invade their old enemies with fire and sword: But behold the quiet flights of England. When the king was passing forward, as he had promised, to invade them, an Englishman met him by the way, who favoured the king of England most entirely, perfect in the Italian language, nourished and brought up all his days in lying, and suborned by king HENRY, with bills and commissions, as if he had been sent from the pope of Rome; and in his company a monk, who did counterfeit a marvellous gravity and holiness of life, as such men had well wont to do; and said, 'It was the pope's command, that neither the king of Scotland, nor none of his company, should pass any further to invade England, under the pains of cursing and censures of holy kirk: For, through the dissension, says he, of Christian princes, the Turks, most damnable and cruel enemies of God's word, creep in daily more and more in Europe; so that, by their tyranny, they have subdued a great part thereof to their dominion and empire: Therefore let all debates, strife and battle be set aside, and peace be established among Christian men. It is also, said he, decreetted, that all faithful men shall lay to their shoulders for expelling of thir common enemies, who would not only spoil them of their worldly freedom and liberty, but also of the word of God, which is the most precious thing on earth; and, to bring all discord, reigning now in the isle of Britain, the more easily to an end, there are other ambassadors (said he) sent, directed by now from the pope, to cause all injuries committed by the king of England to be repaired; and also to agree all quarrels

‘ and diffensions betwixt the king of England and the duke of York.’

King JAMES, believing nothing of any high deceit in these fraudulent fellows sayings, obeyed the charge, and skaled the army. But scarcely was he well come home, when he did perceive the crafty subtilty of his enemies, being devised by them contrary him. So, being come penitent of his facile obedience, gathered a new army, and passed forward upon his enemies.

In the mean time, the duke of York’s army, whereof a great part came with the earl of Warwick, passed in arrayed battle contrary king HENRY, without any expectation of the Scottish mens coming. And, upon the other side, the king’s adherents met their enemies very stoutly, whose principal chiftains, under the king, were the dukes of Somerset and Buckingham, and the earl of Clifford. Shortly it was manfully foughten on both sides; but at the last, the king’s army was vanquisht and overcome, himself taken prisoner and had to London, and his three chiftains foresaid slain, with many nobles and gentlemen, by a great multitude of the commons. So, after this victory, when he was come to London, there was a convention: where the whole nobility agreed all upon that head, that their king should not be, at that time, deprived of his royal estate; but that his wicked counsellors and flatterers, as the very corrupters of good ingines, should be either put to death, or else sequestrate of his company, and banished off the realm, and himself to be put in sicker firmance till further consultation: For it appeared very unlesome to many of the council, not only to put hand in a living prince, but also to rave the honourable empire from the appointed of God, to whom the realm once had given their oath of fidelity: For, in so doing, they should be compelled, as perjured mensworn people, to chuse another in his place: And therefore decreeted, that the duke of York should be but governor of the realm during the king’s life-time. Now the earl of

Warwick

Warwick was made captain of Calais, which was then one of the authority amongst the Englishmen; and the earl of Salisbury great chancellor of the realm. And so it was done till further conclusion might be had in all affairs.

In that mean time the king of Scotland invaded the king of England's favourers in the north, with all cruelty. And when he had won the town of Roxburgh, which the Englishmen then had garnished with men and munition, and cast the same to the ground, he sieged the castle thereof. And when he was most busy and earnest in the pursuit thereof, ambassadors came from the duke of York and the earl of Warwick, with the rest of that faction, shewing the victory that was theirs, and to thank him for his good-will and readiness, promising to do the like to his majesty, to bring to effect whenever it was needful; praying him to desist from the siege, and not to molest the realm of England, seeing God granted victory to them, in so far that they were masters of the realm; otherwise, that he would exasperate them of England to wrath and ire, who already would have invaded the Scottish army, were not the greater obstacle and impediment.

The king answered, 'that he was very glad of their prosperous success of victory that had befallen the duke of York, but did marvel how it might be, that he could be offended, or the nobility of England, he doing nothing else but that which they required most affectuously.' Attour, he desired the promises to be fulfilled which were made to him. To the which was answered by the ambassadors, 'they had no command to give answer thereupon.' At the which the king was so commoved, that he refused their band and kindness all utterly, as unworthy of kindness and credit, but altogether false and dissembled; and albeit they did vary and discord in some affairs, yet they concorded altogether in trumpery and falsehood; showing a fair countenance, with many pleasant words, in the beginning;

ning, when they required any thing under colour, fraud and guile. And therefore said to the ambassadors on this manner. ' Albeit the duke and his conjured faction be proud and insolent of the victory lately obtained, wherethrough they disdain to keep their promise made to me; yet, nevertheless, I will, by God's grace, be revenged of all injuries done to me, my realm and lieges, by England, as I had determined before that thir ambassadors solisted for this effect, not knowing then their quiet deceit and subtil fraud; and also shall be revenged of this injury, which is most of all, in violating and breaking the solemn'd oath and faithful promise that the said ambassadors and men of war did promise in their names and behalf.'

So the ambassadors being departed with this answer, the king commanded the soldiers and men of war to assault the castle; but the Englishmen defended so valiantly within, that the siege appeared to endure longer than was believed. So the king determined to compel them that were within the house, by long tarry, to render and give over. At the which time DONALD of the Isles, of whom we spake before, came to the siege with a great company, all armed in the Highland fashion, with habergeons, bows and axes; and promised to the king, if he pleased to pass any further in the bounds of England, that he and his company should pass a large mile afore the rest of the host, and to take upon them the first press and dint of the battle. The king, after that he had received him with great humanity, answered, ' That he would use the nobles counsel in all the progress of wars; ' rejoicing much that DONALD was so ready to hazard himself and friends for defence of the king, and honour of the commonwealth. After this he bade him stent his pavilion by himself, till further occasion served to do as he desired. This DONALD, obedient at command, after that he had taken the place, to him and his folks, that was deputed for them, sent out sundry companies of his men to spuilzie and herry the

the country about the camp, seeing the siege lasted longer than the pursuers expectation was. For albeit a great part of the keepers of the house was perished and tint for hunger, and the rest straitly overlet by the siegers; yet, not the less, they persevered so stoutly, without regard of all their adversaries, that the pursuers were almost tint with the long sieging; till ALEXANDER earl of Huntley's coming, who brought a great company of chosen men, which made the king so blyth, that he commanded to charge all the guns to give the castle a new volley. But while this prince, more curious than became him, or the majesty of a king, did stand nearhand the gunners, when the artillery was discharged, his thigh bone was dung in two with a piece of a misframed gun, that brake in shooting; by the which he was stricken to the ground, and died hastily. The which gritumly discouraged all his nobles, gentlemen, and friends that were standing about him; but commanded all that knew his misfortune to hold their silence, and not to divulgate the same throughout the camp, in case it should discourage the soldiers and men of war, and that they should shamefully dissolve the siege.

But the queen, hearing of this mischief, took her young son, called JAMES III. and with a stout courage, like to the Almain and Ghelders of whom she was descended, leaving off all womanly mourning, by all mens expectations, brought him to the host, and exhorted all who were true Scottish-men to continue the siege, till either the castle should be rendred, or taken by force. ' Lose not (saith she) ' with shame, the time and labours which you have ' bestowed on this siege; neither let the loss of ' one man bereave you all of your courage; and ' seeing this chance is not known to the rest, bear ' ye a good countenance, so that no more may know ' the same. Forward therefore, my lords, (leaving ' off all womanly lamentation) and put an end to ' this honourable enterprize, sacrificing rather the ' lives

‘lives of your enemies, than your own tears, to the
‘ghost of your prince.’

The captains partly encouraged hereby, partly ashamed to be overcome by the courage of a woman, resolving to go forward, took her son JAMES III. to be their chiftain; and so fiercely assaulted the castle, that the Englishmen, seeing no hope of relief, yielded the castle to the new king, being suffered to depart safe with bag and baggage. The castle was demolished, lest it might be a strength to the enemies thereafter. Which was done in August, the year of God one thousand four hundred and threescore; and the thirtieth year of the age of king JAMES II. and the twenty fourth year of his reign.

About this time there were many marvels which prognosticated the king's death. The night before his decease, there appeared a clear comet, even as it were a token of the hasty death of so great a prince.

In the year preceeding, there was a bairn which had both the kinds of male and female, called, in our language, a Scarcht; in whom man's nature did prevail: But because his disposition and portraiture of body represented a woman, in a man's house of Linlithgow, he associated in bedding with the good-man's daughter of the house, and made her to conceive a child. Which being divulgate through the country, and the matrons understanding this damsel deceived on this manner; and being offended that the monstrous beast should set himself forth as a woman, being a very man, they got him accused and convicted in judgment, for to be burnt quick for this shameful behaviour.

About this time there was apprehended and taken, for a most abominable and cruel abuse, a brigand, who haunted and dwelt, with his whole family and house-hold, out of all men's company, in a place of Angus, called The Fiend's Den. This mischievous man had an execrable fashion, to take all young men and children, that either he could steal quietly, or take away by any other moyen, without the know-
lege.

lege of the people, and bring them home and eat them ; and the more young they were, he held the more tender and the greater delicate. For the which damnable abuse he was burnt, with his wife, bairns and family, except a young lass of one year old, which was saved and brought to Dundee, where she was fostered and brought up : But, when she came to woman's years, she was condemned and burnt quick, for the same crime her father and mother were convicted of. It is said, that when this young woman was coming forth to the place of execution, that there gathered a great multitude of people about her, and specially of women, cursing and warring that she was so unhappy to commit so damnable deeds. To whom she turned about with a wood and furious countenance, saying, ' Wherefore chide ye with me, as I had committed an unworthy crime ? Give me credit, and trow me, if ye had experience of eating of man's and woman's flesh, ye would think the same so delicious, that ye would never forbear it again.' And so, with an obstinate mind, this unhappy creature, without sign or outward token of repentance, died in the sight of the whole people, for her misdeeds that she was adjudged to.

About this time rang many cunning men, by whose labours and travel good letters flourished, which was almost perished by barbarous cruelty of the Gothes ; such as LAURENTIUS VALLA, a gentleman of Rome, who did great good in the restitution of the Latin tongue to the old purity and ornateness, as his works yet do witness : Suchlike, FRANCISCUS PHILELPHUS, and FRANCISCUS PETRARCHA, both singular orators ; NICOLAUS PEROTTUS, who set his whole mind and study to abolish and put away the old rude manner of teaching, and to garnish and teach the youth, with eloquent languages, in all kind of sciences.

T H E

H I S T O R Y

O F

K I N G J A M E S I I I.

JAMES II. unhappily slain in this manner fore-said, as we have shown, MARGARET his wife continued at the siege, ever exhorting the lords and barons to be stout in the pursuit of the said castle; and never to pass from the same till it were won. To that effect she brought her young son JAMES III. to remain still with the lords at the said siege, till the said castle was won. Though he was of tender age, and could use no vassalage, nor feat of wars; yet his coming encouraged so the people, that they forgot the dolorous death of his father, and passed manfully to the house, and won the same, and justified the captain only thereof. Secondly, cast down the said castle, that it should not be an impediment to them afterward, by the holding of the Englishmen.

Soon after there was a convention set at Scoon, where the queen mother, with the rest of the nobility, crowned her son JAMES III. being of the age of seven years; and thereafter was delivered to bishop JAMES KENNEDY in keeping, to learn letters at the schools.

At this time GEORGE DOUGLAS, earl of Angus, was warden of the borders, and oft-times defended the same manfully; where-through he was made lieutenant, by the queen and council, to pass, with the whole body of the realm, in defence of the borders.

derers. And, after a little while, the Humes gathered, and the Hepburns, with support of Lothian-men, and past to Wark, and cast it down; so that the English-men desired peace with the Scots for fifteen years, which was granted to them by the counsel of bishop JAMES KENNEDY, who helped to govern the realm during his days: But the special cause of this tranquillity and peace in Scotland, was, because English-men had civil wars among themselves striving daily for the crown of England, betwixt the duke of York and king HARRY VI. who, in short time thereafter, desired a safe conduct for his wife and his eldest son, and certain of his kin and friends, containing the number of a thousand men, for to remain a while in Scotland at his pleasure. Which conduct was granted unto him by the king and council, and was well received, and remained in the Grey-friers of Edinburgh so long as he pleased.

Not long after the queen of England passed in France, because she was a French woman, and many of the nobles with her. And king HENRY, at this time, gave Berwick to the Scottish-men, for his support and entertainment that he had in Scotland that time.

In this time bishop JAMES KENNEDY guided the king and his council in good unity and peace, whereby the commonwealth flourished greatly. He founded a triumphant college in St. Andrews called St. Salvator's college; wherein he made his lair very curiously and costly; and also he bigged a ship, called the bishop's berge. And when all three were complete, he knew not which of the three was costliest: For it was reckoned, by honest men of consideration being for the time, that the least of them cost ten thousand pounds sterling. So the three, being complete, cost thirty thousand pounds sterling.

In this mean time HENRY VI. departed out of Scotland towards England; and shortly thereafter was taken by king EDWARD, and put in prison. At this time the king of France sent a captain, called PETER BRICE, with certain support to king HARRY:

But,

But, ere ever he came, he was taken by king EDWARD, and put in prison. Therefore the said captain, hearing that the king was put in prison, took a castle in the north of England, called Anwick, and there thought manfully to defend himself, till he got support. But EDWARD, the new king, hearing of his intent, caused a greater army to come hastily and siege him. The said captain, knowing no relief to come to him hastily, sent to the council of Scotland, desiring them to relieve him, or to skale the siege; promising to them to cause the king of France, his maker, redeem to them the costs, skaiths and damages sustained by them in the said cause. Incontinent, GEORGE earl of Angus, warden of the borders, and great lieutenant for the time, raised a great number of Scottish-men, to the number of twenty thousand, to wit, ten thousand horsemen, and ten thousand footmen; and when he was near-hand the said castle, he chused out ten thousand of the best of his army, and past to the said castle on swift horse, as it had been a fray, and gart the rest of his army come in fight of the said castle in arrayed battle, as a steill in adventures, in case the English should give battle. But the English-men were so afraid at the sudden coming of the Scots, that they skaled their siege, and gave them way, while he relieved the said captain of France safely, and brought him to Scotland, and there put him to liberty to pass to France, as he pleased with his company.

The year of God, one thousand four hundred and sixty three, MARGARET queen of Scotland, daughter to the duke of Guelders, departed at Edinburgh, and was buried in the Trinity college, which she founded herself after the decease of JAMES II. her husband. This queen MARGARET was very wise and virtuous in her husband's time: But, soon after his death, she knowing herself to be a regent and guider of the realm, seeing all men to obey her and none to controul her, she became to be leacherous of her body, and took ADAM HEPBURN of Hales, who had a wife of his own, and committed adultery with him; which

caused her to be lightlied of all the nobility of Scotland, that she saw so many noblemens sons and barons free of marriage, and would not desire one of them to have satisfied her lust, but took another wife's husband to satisfy her greedy appetite.

The same year ALEXANDER duke of Albany, and brother to king JAMES III. was sent to France to learn the leed, with other letters, directed by JAMES KENNEDY bishop of St. Andrews. The said ALEXANDER and his ship were both taken by the Englishmen; who were suddenly delivered by supplication of bishop JAMES KENNEDY: For the said bishop JAMES promised to the council of England, that there should no peace be kept, if the said ALEXANDER and his ship were not delivered immediately. The which was done at his desire; for the Englishmen had such civil wars among themselves, that they durst not break peace with Scotland.

In the year of God, one thousand four hundred and seventy six, bishop JAMES KENNEDY departed out of this present life, and was buried at the city of St. Andrews, in the college which he founded himself. This bishop JAMES KENNEDY, in his days, was wondrous godly and wise, and was well learned in divine sciences, and practised the same to the glory of God, and commonweal of the kirk of God: For he caused all parsons and vicars to remain at their parish-kirks, for instruction and edifying of their flocks; and caused them to preach the word of God unto the people, and to visit them when they were sick. And also the said bishop visited every kirk within his diocese four times in the year, and preached to the said parochin himself the word of God truly, and required of the said parochin, if they were duly instructed in the word of God by their parson and vicar; and if their sacraments were duly administered unto them by the parson and vicar aforesaid; and if the poor were sustained; and the youth brought up and learned conform to the order that was taken in the kirk of God. And where he found not the same order kept, he made great punishment, to the effect, that

that God's glory might shine through the country in his diocese; giving good example to all archbishops and kirk-men, to cause the patrimony of God's kirk to be used to the glory of God, and to the commonweal of the poor. Farther, he was a man well learned in the civil laws, and had great practice in the same; where, by ingine, letters and practice, long use and years, he knew the nature of the Scottish-men, so that he was most able of any lord in Scotland, spiritual or temporal, to give any wise counsel, or an answer, when the time occurred, before the prince or the council; and specially in the time of parliament, or when the ambassadors of other countries came for their affairs, there was none so able as he to give them answer, conform to their petition and desires of their masters. Or when any affairs or troubles that occurred in the realm, and specially lese-majesty, he was also practised in the same: For he gave counsel to king JAMES II. when he was ready to depart out of Scotland for fear of the earl of Douglas, who had gathered against him to the number of forty thousand men, ready to give him battle, or else to chace him out of the realm. Notwithstanding, this noble bishop, seeing this noble prince desolate of counsel, and desperate of any hope of success of victory to fall to him in contrary his enemies, caused this noble prince JAMES II. come to him to St. Andrews, ere his departure, and there gave him such counsel, as after follows. That is to say, he led him to a quiet orature, and desired him to make his supplication to Almighty God, that he would open his eyes and his heart, that he might have knowlege and wisdom to danton and punish the conspirators, which were risen against him, contrary the laws of God and man, and also the commonwealth of the country. When they had both ended their oration and prayers to Almighty God, the holy bishop beginneth to let this noble prince see a similitude, the which might bring him to experience and comfort, how he might evade the uproar of the conspirators; and in special against the earl of Douglas

and the rest of his complices. The bishop puts forth a great sheaf of arrows, knit together in a whang of leather, and gave them to the king in his hands, and bade him set them to his knee and break them. The king answered and said, ' It was impossible, because ' there were so many of them together of the said arrows, and knit so fast together with leather, that no ' man could break them at once.' The bishop answered, ' That was true, but yet he would let the king see ' that he would break them ;' and pulled out one by one, or two by two, till he had broken them all ; and said to the king, ' You must do in the same ' manner with your barons that have risen against ' you, which are so many in number, and knit so ' fast together in conspiracy against you, that you ' can no ways get them broken, but by such practice as I have shewn you by the similitude of the ' arrows : this is to say, you must conquer and ' break lord and lord by himself ; for you must not ' deal with them all at once. And further, make a ' proclamation out through the realm, to all thieves ' and traitors that have offended against you, and ' grant them free remission to be good men in time ' coming, and now to serve your grace, at this instant time, in your necessity. The which being ' done, I trust your grace shall get more favourers ' than shall your contrary party.'

The king, hearing this wise counsel, took courage, and made proclamations, as foresaid, in all the parts of his realm, to the effect foresaid. He put up his banner in St. Andrews, and past to Falkland the first night in arrayed battle. On the morrow he went to Stirling, accompanied with this noble bishop JAMES KENNEDY, with all the lords of Fife, Angus, and Strathern, and remained in Stirling, till the north parts of Scotland came to him, which were in number with the king thirty thousand. Thereafter, awfully, with displayed banner, came forward against the earl of Douglas, who was in camp of battle on the south side of the water of Carron, three miles from the Torwood, with the number of forty thousand

sand men, thinking no less in his mind than he should
 be party to the king, and give him battle, or else to
 cause him leave the realm. But on the other side,
 bishop JAMES KENNEDY used a crafty moyen to break
 the earl of Douglas's army, and sent a secret servant
 of his own to JAMES HAMILTON of Cadyow, who
 was principal captain to the earl of Douglas at this
 time, and had three hundred horsemen and three hun-
 dred footmen at his government, upon the earl of
 Douglas's expences, to charge and pass wherever he
 pleased; yet the said Sir JAMES HAMILTON, being
 advertised by his came, bishop JAMES KENNEDY, of
 the king's good mind and favour towards him, which
 he purchased to him by his moyen, showing to him,
 if he would return and leave the earl of Douglas at
 that time, and come and serve the king's grace, he
 should have a full remission of all things bygone, and
 great reward in time to come. The which he ob-
 tained, as after follows: Notwithstanding this, Sir
 JAMES HAMILTON having a kindly love to the earl
 of Douglas, and a respect to his own honour, pon-
 dered the cause in his own mind; thinking that he
 would essay the earl of Douglas's mind in the said
 cause, what he was purposed to do at that time, how-
 beit he knew the matter was unjust both against God
 and his native prince. Therefore his conscience mov-
 ed him to be delivered, at that time, of that unhap-
 py servitude, contrary the weal of the country. He
 passed to the earl of Douglas incontinent, and enquir-
 ed of him what was his mind, if he would give the
 king battle, or not: Shewing to him, the longer he
 delayed he would be the fewer in number; and the
 king was ever the more able against him. The said
 earl answered to JAMES HAMILTON, saying, ' If he
 ' was tyred, he might depart when he pleased.' Of
 the which answer the said JAMES was well content;
 and that same night, passed to the king, where he
 was well received and thankfully, and all things re-
 mitted bypast. That same night, the rest of the
 gentlemen and barons seeing the departure of JAMES
 HAMILTON, took such a fear, that every man passed

his way; so that, on the morrow, the earl of Douglas was not a hundred men by his own house; who, seeing this, took purpose, and hastily fled in Anandale, where he was soon thereafter vanquished by a band of men of war of the king's: And so this prince obtained great victory and peace, without any slaughter of his lieges at that time, and that through the counsel of this holy bishop. Many other good acts he did in his time, both to the glory of God, and to the commonweal and advancement of his native country. So we will let him rest with God, and return again to our purpose.

In the year of our Lord, one thousand four hundred and seventy one, king JAMES III. being of the age of twenty years, taketh to wife MARGARET, the king of Norway's daughter, (otherways the king of Denmark) and got with her in tocher-good, the lands of Orkney and Shetland, with all right, and title of right to them, pertaining to the king of Norway at that time. This marriage was solemnized at Edinburgh, the gentlewoman being but twelve years at that time.

The king being married with all solemnity, and having this realm in peace, and the commonwealth thereof flourishing; yet, notwithstanding, in short time thereafter, he was brought in great cumber; partly by his own insolency, and otherwise by the conspiracies of his own lords and barons against him, as after follows, as ye shall hear.

This prince had two brothers; the eldest, called ALEXANDER duke of Albany and earl of March, was very wise and manly, and loved nothing so well as able men and good horse, and made great cost and expences thereon; and, for his singular wisdom and manhood, he was esteemed, in all countries, above his brother the king's grace: For he was so hardy and manly with the lords and barons of Scotland, that he was holden so in estimation, that they durst never rebel against the king, so long as he rang in peace and rest with his brother the king's grace: For he was hardy, manly and wise, that they stood
more

more in awe of him, than of the king's grace, for his manhood. This ALEXANDER was of mid stature; broad-thoulered, and well proportioned in all his members, and specially in his face, that is to say, broad-faced, red-nosed, great-eared, and of very awful countenance, when he pleased to shew himself unto his unfriends. But the king's grace, his brother, was far different from his qualities and complexions: For he was one that loved solitariness and desert, and never to hear of wars, nor the same thereof; but delighted more in music and policies of bigging, than he did in the governance of his realm. He was also wondrous covetous in conquessing of money, rather than the hearts of his barons; and he delighted more in fingering and playing upon instruments, than he did in the defence of the borders, or administration of justice; the which at length caused him to come to ruin, as ye shall hear hereafter following. But we return to the third brother, JOHN earl of Mar, who was young, fair and lusty, and one of high stature, fair and pleasant-faced, gentle in all his behaviours and manners; and knew nothing but nobility, using much hunting and hawking, with other gentlemanny past-time and exercises, with other knightly games, as, entertaining of great horses and mares, whereof the offspring might flourish, so that he might be staked in times of wars. But with the same we will return to our history.

ALEXANDER, duke of Albany and earl of March, for his singular manhood and wisdom, he was chosen captain of Berwick and lieutenant of our whole borders; and had in his hand, at that time, the castle of Dumbar, with the living thereof, pertaining to the earl of March. Notwithstanding, ALEXANDER lord Hume, otherwise lord Chamberlain, had many of thir lands into his hands, in uptaking the mails and rents thereof, by reason of his office given to him in king JAMES II. his time; therefore would not suffer the tenants thereof to make answer, to the said ALEXANDER duke of Albany, of the said mails, rents and profits thereof, with his good-

good-will ; but believed afterwards, with such crafty means, to use the same to his own pleasure. But the said ALEXANDER, duke of Albany, commoved with the same, spared not to ride the ground bounds and lands of the said earldom of March, and there uptake the said profits and duties at his own pleasure. Notwithstanding the lord Hume, nor none of his friends in the said action, might never in noways be party unto him, because he was both captain of Berwick, and had all the Merse at his command and obedience ; and also he had the castle of Dumbar, and many of the gentlemen of that country to fortify him in his just cause, because he was the second person of Scotland.

That same year the queen bore a son, thereafter was called JAMES IV. Notwithstanding the Humes were very ill discontent at his proceedings, cast all the ways and means they might, to keep themselves in possession of the rooms and rents, which they were in use and possession before of uptaking thereof, as chamberlain to the king's grace : And, to that effect, to fortify their cause, they banded with the Hepburns, to make their party good against the said ALEXANDER duke of Albany : But, nevertheless, their labour was all in vain ; because their action was not good nor just, he prevailed ever, at all times, against them when they met. If he had been thirty, and they threescore, yet he would have given them battle ; and oft times warred them, and chased them to their hold.

Then the Humes and Hepburns, seeing they nothing could prevail against this nobleman, devised among themselves a crafty mean, whereby they might cause his brother the king's grace to be discontent with him : Knowing well, if they had the king broken from the said his brother, in this case, they thought to rule the king's grace as they pleased : And, to this effect, sought all the occasion that they might to bring their purpose to effect ; till, at the last, they saw a new courtier start up, called Cochran, who had, at that time, great preheminance
and

and authority in court, and audience of the king, and ruled all matters and actions, as he pleased, to them that would give him buddes and gear for his labour. The Humes and the Hepburns, seeing this man, Cochran, have so great credit of the king, thinking nothing better than to make their moyen with him, they gave him great sums of money to fortify and maintain their cause against the duke of Albany, who hastily promised to take their parts in all things debateable betwixt them and the duke of Albany, and his brother the earl of Mar: For the said Cochran confessed to them, that he was in no less fear or dread of the duke of Albany, and his brother, than they were themselves: Therefore he was the more willing to consent to their opinion; and promised to them, if he might find the time convenient, he should bring their purpose to effect; and departed from them, and was into the court, and daily laboured, with all his-ngine, to bring the king at discord with his brother. He travelled and laboured long ere ever he could find any effect to bring his purpose to pass: For the king loved his brethren so well, that he would not frow any wrongous narration of them, nor give credence to no man that spake evil of them; till, at the last, this Cochran, seeing that, by no way, he could break the king from his brethren; he caused a witch with him come, and pronounce to the king, that he should be suddenly slain with one of the nearest of his friends and kin. Of the which the king was very afraid, and desired of the witch, how she had that experience of him, or if any man had caused her to speak the same. She answered, she had the revelation thereof by a familiar spirit. And then the king began to be astonished, and daily afraid of thir new tidings, conjecturing and moving in his mind whom this should be. But at the last took the suspicion in his mind of his brethren, that he conjectured it should be they should perform this prophecy that the witch had spoken; because he had no bairns of his own, at that time, of age to do such

such things as were pronounced ; and therefore he concluded wholly with himself, that it should be his brethren should do him that mischief : And thereupon he grew in such suspicion and hatred against them, that he might, on no ways, take rest, because they were nearest of kin to the king, as the witch said ; but ever enquiring of Cochran, and the rest of his unhappy counsellors who augmented him daily in that suspicion towards his brethren. But when thir tidings of the kings suspicion came abroad through the country, and also came to the ears of the Humes and the Hepburns, they were heartily content of thir novels, trusting to be relieved by that way, of their enemies the duke of Albany and his brother : Therefore they made them to the court, and flattered the king and courtiers, showing their opinion of the king's suspicion, saying, ' That they thought all of verity that the king ' had conjectured in that matter towards his brethren.' Till, at the last, there grew such mortal feud within the king's breast, toward his brethren, that he could no ways be content to let them live in peace and rest, but sakelessly, in his heart, condemned them both to the death, and that by the persuation of this false flatterer, Cochran, and the enticements of the Humes and Hepburns, which were the fortifiers of Cochran in that cause, by their persuation given to him great gifts of gold and silver therefore. And, at the last, the king sent for his brethren, the duke of Albany, and the earl of Mar, to come to Edinburgh to him, in all possible haste, for such things as he had to do with them at that time : But the king's mind and purpose was, to destroy them immediately after their coming. But, notwithstanding, the duke of Albany was surely advertised by his friends of the king's malice ; and therefore would not compear for the king's writing ; but fled to his own castle of Dumbar, till he saw farther in the matter. But the earl of Mar, unadvertised hereof, came obediently to his brother, the king's grace ; who was hastily thereafter

ter murdered and slain in the Canongate in a bath-fat ; by whose persuasion, or for what cause, I cannot tell. But the king's grace, soon after, came to Dumbar, to have had his brother the duke into his hands : But the duke, advertised of his coming, fled out of his said castle, and left men to keep it, and fled himself to Berwick, and remained there till he heard farther tidings. The king hearing of his departure and absence, sent certain noblemen to the castle of Dumbar, and required the same to be delivered to the king and his captains, which obediently was rendered at the king's pleasure. This being done, the king past to Edinburgh, and there remained a while at his pleasure, void of all fear, dread or danger, which he suspected before to come by prophecy of the witch : and also past his time with flatterers in all parts of Scotland, at his pleasure, thinking then that there was no man that had him at that time at envy, but he might safely persevere in his pleasure as he thought best.

In this time Cochran grew so familiar with his grace, that nothing was done in court without him ; and all men, that would have had their business drest with the king's grace, came to Cochran, and made him fore-speaker for them, and gave him large money to dres their business. Therethrough he became so rich and puissant, and of such substance, that no man might strive with him. But he knowing the king's nature, that he was covetous upon money, and loved them better that gave him money, than they that took from him ; for the which cause, the said Cochran gave the king large sums of money ; wherethrough he obtained the earldom of Mar from the king, and was possessed in the same ; and ever clamb higher and higher in court, till that he had no peer nor comparison, of no lord of Scotland, spiritual or temporal, into the king's favour. Whatever was done in court or council with the king, nothing was done or concluded but by him ; nor no man durst say that his proceedings were wicked or evil, or unprofitable for the commonweal, but he would have

have his indignation, and cause punish him for the same. He had such credence of the king, that he gave him leave to strike money of his own, as if he had been a prince. And when the people would have refused the said money, which was called a Cochran plak, and said it would be cried down; he answered and said, 'That day he would be hang-
'ed that they were cried down.' Which shortly thereafter fell out as he prophesied, as ye shall hear: For this Cochran had such authority in court, and credence of the king, that no man got credence or audience of the king but by his moyen. So all that would esteem him, or flatter him, or give him gear, their matters were dressed according to their own pleasure, whether it were just or unjust, or against the commonweal, all was alike unto him: For he cared not the welfare of the realm, or the honour, so that he might have his own singular profit, and estimation in court. So he abused this noble prince, that none was received in court, nor no kind of officers but they that would obey him, and be of his faction. So, by this means, the prudent lords counsel was refused, and their sons were absent from the king's service: For no man durst come to serve the king, but he that was a flatterer of Cochran, and thought all things well done that he counselled the king to do. By this way the king tint many of the hearts of the lords of Scotland, and also of their sons and brethren, that were young men, who fain would have served the king's majesty, but they could get no place for this Cochran and his company; nor no casualty could fall to the king in Scotland, but it was disposed by the advice of this Cochran, and not by counsel of the lords of parliament, neither spiritual nor temporal.

The which proceedings moved the lords of Scotland to fall from the king, and set their intent to find remedy to the same; which made a convention among themselves, and there to consult how they might best bring the king to defend his realm in justice and equity, whereby the commonweal might flourish

flourish, and the king's honour not diminished; and to put such noblemen about him to serve, as were convenient for such a prince; whereby virtue might be maintained, and vice punished; whereby he might win the favour of his lords and barons, and bring his realm in such peace and rest as his father left it to him. And, upon this conclusion, the lords sent a wise man to the king, declaring their minds to him in manner and form as after follows: That is to say, they desire the king's grace, ' To leave young
' counsel and unhonest, which looked not to the king's
' honour, and the commonweal of the country, nor
' to the administration of justice; but to their particular profits. And desired him, to leave all fear
' and dread, and put suspicion out of his heart towards his nobles; and take the counsel of his wise
' lords, how he should rule himself in the government of his realm, and in the administration of
' justice, and defence against enemies, and maintaining of his commonwealth. And if his grace
' would use their counsel in this manner, they would
' all live and die with him in defence of his honour,
' and commonwealth of the country. And if he would
' not incline to their counsel in this manner, they took
' God to witness, that they should be guiltless of
' the misgovernment of the realm; and the charge
' should lye to him, both before God and man, that
' they should be declared innocent, if any mischief
' fell, at that time, in the country.'

The king answered to their petition, saying, ' He
' had no counsel in the government of his realm,
' but lords counsels as they were: And, as to his
' company, they pleased him for the time, because
' he could see or perceive, at that time, no better
' for him: And let them to understand, that he
' would not put a man forth of his company for
' their pleasure: for he believed that they were
' trusty and true that served in his company; and he
' could not believe them, because ever, when the
' one half of them was against him, the other half
' was with him, and of his opinion. Yet, notwithstanding, he promised, when the whole lords were

‘ convened together and concluded in one voice, he
 ‘ would be content to use their counsel in all things, and
 ‘ specially in defence of his realm, and liberty thereof.’

The lords, hearing this answer of the king’s, were not half well content of the same; but yet they bore fair till they saw their time, knowing they could do nothing more in the matter, till they were together in the fields in camp or battle. To that effect some of them caused the borders to be broken, and other some lye still, and make no defence; wherethrough came great reif and herryships in all countries, and great slaughter betwixt England and Scotland; wherethrough the land was so walled by England, and by the thieves of Anandale, that nothing was plenished into Edinburgh.

When the lamentation and cries of the poor came before the king, he was heavily commoved, and caused to make proclamation through the realm, and to all and sundry his lieges, earls, lords, barons and free-holders, and all substantial gentlemen, yea, and all manner of men betwixt sixty and sixteen, as well spiritual as temporal, to compear and assemble upon the Borrow-muir of Edinburgh, in their best array, with forty days victual, to pass forward with the king where he pleased, in defence of the realm.

The English-men, hearing of thir proclamations, made great provision for the same, thinking that they would defend themselves and their borders contrary the Scots at that time; for they had to their lieutenant and chifstain, the duke of Gloucester, who was their principal counsellor and great lieutenant to EDWARD the new king.

Notwithstanding, the Scottish camp came pertly forward at the king’s commandment unto the place that was appointed, that is to say, upon the Borrow-muir, convened the whole number of lords, barons, and great men and borrows, fifty thousand fighting men, by carriage-men and borderers. The king took certain artillery with him out of the castle of Edinburgh, and made Cochran earl of Mar, convoyer of the same, and past forward to Sowtry the first night; and on the morn, past to Lawder, and

and there planted down his pallions betwixt the kirk and the town, and there abode that night. While, on the morn, all the whole lords of Scotland convened in the kirk of Lawder to a council, and there to consult what was best to be done, for the commonweal of the realm, and defence of the borders; or if they should pass with the king, at his pleasure, at that time. Some wise and antient lords answered and said, 'He was not their king, nor guided not by them, nor their counsel, but made fellows, masons, to be lords and earls in the place of noblemen; that is to say, he hath banished the noble duke of Albany, his brother, and hath forfeited and slain the earl of Mar, his other brother, and hath made Cochran, that was but a mason, to fulfil his room; wherewith they could not be contented till they had such things reformed.'

Upon this they chused out some wise lords, to the number of twenty four; that is to say, the earl of Angus principal of the countil, lord Evendale, who was chancellor for the time, the earls of Argyll, Huntley, Orkney, Crawford and Bothwell; the lords Hume, Fleming, Gray, Drummond and Seton, with certain bishops; the which lords convened foresaid, and had advised ripely in this cause. They concluded whole, with one voice, that the king should be taken softly, without harming of his body, and convoyed, with certain gentlemen, unto the castle of Edinburgh, to remain there till they saw further; and, in the mean time, to take Cochran, the earl of Mar, and all the lave of the king's familiars, and immediately hang them over the bridge of Lawder.

By this was advised and spoken by this lords foresaid, Cochran, the earl of Mar, came from the king to the council, (which council was holden in the kirk of Lawder for the time) who was well accompanied with a band of men of war, to the number of three hundred light axes, all clad in white livery, and black bends thereon, that they might be known for Cochran the earl of Mar's men. Himself was clad in a riding pie of black velvet, with a great

chain of gold about his neck, to the value of five hundred crowns; and four blowing horns, with both the ends of gold and silk, set with precious stones. His horn was tipped with fine gold at every end, and a precious stone, called a beryl, hanging in the midst. This Cochran had his heumont born before him overgilt with gold; and so were all the rest of his horns; and all his pallions were of fine canvas of silk, and the cords thereof fine twined silk; and the chains upon his pallions were double overgilt with gold.

This Cochran was so proud in his conceit, that he counted no lords to be marrows to him, therefore he rushed rudely at the kirk-door. The council enquired who it was that perturbed them at that time. Sir ROBERT DOUGLAS, laird of Lochlevin, was keeper of the kirk door at that time, who enquired who that was that knocked so rudely; and Cochran answered, 'this is I, the earl of Mar,' The which news pleased well the lords, because they were ready bound to cause take him, as is afore rehearsed. Then the earl of Angus past hastily to the door, and with him Sir ROBERT DOUGLAS of Lochlevin, there to receive in the earl of Mar, and so many of his complices who were there, as they thought good. And the earl of Angus met with the earl of Mar as he came in at the door, and pulled the golden chain from his craig, and said to him, 'A tow would set him better.' Sir ROBERT DOUGLAS syne pulled the blowing-horn from him in like manner, and said, 'He had been the hunter of mischief over long.' This Cochran asked, 'My lords, is it mowt or earnest?' They answered and said, 'It is good earnest, and so thou shalt find: For thou and thy complices have abused our prince this long time, of whom thou shalt have no more credence, but shall have thy reward according to thy good service, as thou hast deserved in times bypast; right so the rest of thy followers.'

Notwithstanding the lords held them quiet, till they caused certain armed men to pass into the king's pallion,

pallion, and two or three wise men to pass with them, and give the king fair pleasant words, till they laid hands on all the king's servants, and took them and hanged them, before his eyes, over the bridge of Lawder. Incontinent they brought forth Cochran, and his hands bound with a tow, who desired them to take one of his own pallion-tows, and bind his hands; for he thought shame to have his hands bound with such tow of hemp, like a thief. The lords answered, 'He was a traitor, he deserved no better.' And, for despight, they took a hair-tether, and hanged him over the bridge of Lawder, above the rest of his complices; and made a proclamation, and cried down his cunzie; which fulfilled his own prophecy foresaid: That he might be example to all simple mean persons not to climb so high, and intend so great things in court, as he did: For, at his beginning, he was but prentice to a mason: and, within few years, he became very ingenious in that craft, and bigged many stone houses with his hands in the realm of Scotland: And, because he was cunning in craft, not long after the king made him master-mason; and, after this, Cochran clamb so high, higher and higher, till he came to this fine, as is rehearsed.

The king was taken captive himself, and was had to the castle of Edinburgh, by the convoy of his lords, and none escaped that was of his company, I mean his secret servants or cubiculars, but were hanged; except a young man called JOHN RAMSAY, who was saved by the king's request; who, for refuge, sap on the horse behind the king, to save his life. This Sir JOHN RAMSAY was laird of Balmain, and afterwards treasurer of Scotland. This act was done in the year of God, one thousand four hundred and eighty one, in August.

And, after this a long time, the king remained still in the castle of Edinburgh as captive, and had certain lords in company with him, that took heed and kept him, and served and honoured him as a prince ought to be: For he was not put there as a

prisoner, but for the maintaining of the commonweal. They gave him liberty to use directions, and all gifts of casualties and properties of his realm, at his own pleasure: For nothing was derogate from him, that pertained to him by reason of his authority. And letters of commandments and proclamations were made and given in his name, like as they were before at his inputting; nor no other regent nor governor chosen in that mean time: But every lord, within his own bounds, was sworn to minister justice, and to cause steuth, reis and slaughter to be punished within themselves, or else to bring the doers of the same to the king's justice to Edinburgh, to be punished, or else to answer for the crimes themselves, to be holden doers of the same.

By this way there was some peace and rest in the country, the space of three quarters of a year; till, at last, the king would been out of the castle, at his liberty, as he was before; notwithstanding he could, on no ways, obtain his purpose at his pleasure, but if he would bind himself unto the lord's counsel that were his inputters, and give them pledges therefore, and observe and keep the same; which he, on no ways, would do. Some that were secret friends to him came and gave him counsel, to speak with the earl of Douglas, who was captive in the castle of Edinburgh at that time. Thir said friends desired the king to take the earl of Douglas in his favour, and remit all things bygone, and restore him unto his lands again, who was forfaulted before a long time: Shewing the king, that if he would bear with him, at this time, that the earl of Douglas was able to fortify and defend him, and to bring him to that purpose that he would have been at. Notwithstanding the king was very glad of his counsel, and desired to speak with him; who was brought incontinent to intercommune with him about the said matter. But the earl of Douglas was so high on the other part, and presumptuous in his own mind, that he gave the king no due reverence as he ought to have done, but high and presumptuous

sumptuous words ; which became him not to have given his prince at that time, considering his subjection and captivity : Therefore the king thought him so proud in his answering, that they parted worse friends than they met. And the king made a singular vow, that he should never be relieved out of the castle of Edinburgh, if he might keep him into it : For, by his proud speaking, he was liker to be a king than he. And the king feared him as much as any of the rest, if he had been at liberty. So he left him in this manner, and communed no more with him, and shewed him that gave him the counsel, the whole manner, who was very discontent at the same. But some gave counsel to send to his brother, the duke of Albany, a familiar letter, declaring to him the cause how it stood, desiring him to pass to EDWARD of England, the new king, desiring support of him and his council, whereby he might be relieved out of the said castle of Edinburgh, and to be avenged on his inputters ; promising, if any such things occur in England toward king EDWARD, he should be ready, with all his power, to his support.

Thir letters were directed immediately to the duke of Albany, his brother, who was then in Berwick for the time, and received the king's writing very thankfully, requiring, of the king and council of England, the same support to his brother, as his writing made mention thereof.

The king and council of England, being advised thereupon, denied any support to be given to the king of Scotland, without they wist wherefore ; because they had charged him sundry times for support, and got none : Notwithstanding, would the king of Scotland be content to render Berwick again unto them, they would grant him such support that would relax him. The duke of Albany answered and said, ' He had no commission in that manner ; but promised that he should shew his brother the king of England's desire and his counsel, and bring answer thereupon.' And, shortly after this, the duke of Albany writ to his brother the king of Scotland

land, shewing him the answer and mind of the king and council of England, ' And that they desired the town of Berwick to be rendered again, betwixt year and day, in English-mens hands; and if the king of Scotland would promise to do the same, at the terms foresaid, and send his great seal thereupon, they would incontinent grant to all his desires: That is to say, to set him at liberty, and make him to have power to punish whom he pleased, that had transgressed against him. Providing always that the king of Scotland would deliver to them certain pledges till the said town of Berwick was rendered.'

This matter pleased well the king of Scotland, saying, ' If all England were his, he had rather render it, than to be holden in captivity with his own.' And, to this effect, he sent to his brother, the duke of Albany, to grant their desires, and to promise the same to the council of England; and sent four lords sons in pledges of the same.

The duke of Albany received his brother's commission and the pledges foresaid, and thereafter past to London to the king of England, and council thereof, and shewed him how he had sped, and promised the king, that all his desires should be granted; and shewed him the king of Scotland's commission under the great seal, and delivered him the pledges for observation of his promise.

Upon the which the king of England was very well content, and received the duke of Albany's pledges thankfully, and treated them well: And incontinent thereafter caused the duke of Gloucester, his great lieutenant, with ten thousand chosen men, to passe in Scotland with the duke of Albany, wherever he pleased, and to come with him so long as he pleased, in defence and support of the king of Scotland, his brother; and promised, that they should want no furnishing nor expences, ay and till the king of Scotland was put at liberty, and revenged upon his enemies. And incontinent thir noblemen came in Scotland, the twentieth day of August, the year of

of God, one thousand four hundred and eighty two; and planted their pallions upon the Borrow-muir of Edinburgh, and there made provision for their army. And then the Scottish lords, seeing this, afraid of their king, which caused them to draw together to the council; where soon after compeared the duke of Albany, with the duke of Gloucester, within the town, with the number of a thousand gentlemen, and entered into the tolbooth, before the lords of Scotland, who were sitting then in council; and they reverently saluted the duke of Albany, and welcomed him home, and desired of him what was his petition. He answered again, 'I desire the king's grace my brother to be put to liberty.' Which was granted to him incontinently. But the chancellor answered and said, 'My lord, we will grant you your petition and desire: But, as to that man that is with you, we know him not, nor will grant nothing to his desire: But we know you to be the king's brother, and, next unto the king's son, second person of Scotland, and a favourer of justice, and commonweal thereof: Therefore the king's grace shall be at your pleasure, to use him as you think good, beseeeking you therefore to cause him use wise and prudent counsel in time coming, which regards his honour, and commonweal of the country; which being done, I trust the king shall be out of suspicion of his barons, which have been troublous to him in time bypast, and caused us, that were his lords, to do these things, which stood not to his contentment; because he would not use our counsel, but used all things at his own pleasure, and their counsel who were familiars for the time, who were not worthy to have been with a king, nor to have given a prince counsel, but rather to have holden the plough, or to have kept sheep or neat. Therefore, I pray your lordship, to cause him use better counsel in time coming, whereby your lordship may have honour of the labours which you have made at this time for his deliverance.'

And

And when the said chancellor had ended his oration, the duke of Albany, and the duke of Gloucester, departed from the council, and went toward the castle to receive the king: and two heralds of arms were commanded to pass with them, to charge the captain to make the gates open, and set the king's grace at liberty.

This being done, the king came forth out of the castle to the duke of Albany, his brother, and there lap on a hackney to ride down to the Abbey: But he would not ride forward, till the duke of Albany, his brother, lap on behind him; and so they went down the gate to the Abbey of Holy-rood-house, where they remained a while, till all the lords had come, and made their due obedience to the king, by the duke of Albany's advice.

Whereafter the king pass to Stirling and through many parts of Scotland, accompanied with the duke of Albany and the duke of Gloucester, lieutenant to the king of England; and with him two thousand horsemen, and five hundred footmen, upon the king of England's expences; and thereafter sent home the rest of his armies in England again, and remained himself for them, one day, with the king of Scotland, with the foresaid number.

And, in this meantime, the king put certain lords in the castle of Edinburgh, in ward, who were the counsellors of the most part of his inputting, which were in number sixteen; to wit, the earl of Bothwell, lord Hume, lord Evandale chancellor for the time, lord Gray, lord Drummond, the lord of Eglington, lord Fleming, lord Seton, lord Maxwell, with sundry other great barons. And the king was advised at that time, to have justified them, were it not for the counsel of the duke of Albany his brother. The earl of Angus also shewed himself familiar, at that time, with the duke and king, and did what he could to save the lords from justifying in the king's fury.

After this, a long while, the king had good peace and rest through all Scotland, through the counsel of the

the duke of Albany, his brother; who, soon after, married the earl of Orkney's daughter, and got upon her a son, called ALEXANDER, who after was bishop of Murray: But not long after that, parted with the earl of Orkney's daughter, and past in France, and was married upon the duchess of Bologne. But this duke of Albany had great indignation of many of the lords of Scotland, because of fortifying and maintaining of the king's grace in his particular affairs; and gave him the sole wyte, that so many of the lords were captive at that time; and for the rendering of Berwick lately, conform to his promise, and the king of Scotland's commission, who gave him commandment and power to render the same for his relief; yet the lords could not stand content therewith, but alleged it to be treason, and would fain had some crime to have accused the duke of Albany thereof, and to have put a new suspicion betwixt him and his brother, thinking on no ways how they could get their intent and will of the king, except the duke were cut off. To this effect they caused certain flatterers and evil speakers to show the king, that the duke of Albany intended to have the crown; for he was liker to be king than the king himself, as he proceeded; for he disposed all things pertaining to the crown: And caused the king understand, that he would fulfil the prophecy of the witch, that prophesied to the king, that one of the nearest of his kin should destroy him.

Thir words, and such other wicked counsellors, made the king so afraid of the duke of Albany, that he would have been content to have been quit of him with his honesty. Notwithstanding all the labours and travels he had sustained for the king's welfare, and deliverance of him out of captivity, all his good service was forgot by their flattery, and the fear the king took of him, by persuation of wicked persons, who caused the king to summon the duke his brother, before the council, for such points of treason as after follow: That is to say, for rendering of the town of Berwick in the Englishmens hands,

hands, without council or commission of the lords of Scotland; yet, notwithstanding, the duke compeared partly before the king and council, and produced the king's commission under his great seal, for to render the same, to the effect, that support might come to the king for his deliverance. But the lords alledged, that the king's commission was of no effect at that time, because he was in ward, and did it not by the counsel of his nobility and lords of this realm: Therefore the lords and council, for the time, convicted the duke of Albany, and sent him to the castle, to remain in prison.

In this mean time, the earl of Angus got the whole lords, that were in ward, relieved, upon caution to enter again, when the king pleased, in ward, or in parliament, under the pain of ten thousand pounds for ilk one of them. So, after this, they counselled the king to justify the duke of Albany, his brother: Thinking if they were quit of him, they would do with the king what they pleased; for they stood in such awe of the duke of Albany, they durst not meddle with the king, nor put hand on him, so long as the said duke was on life: Wherefore thir conspirators desired, at all times, to have this duke put to death, trusting the better to come to their purpose of the king thereafter. Notwithstanding, the secret treason was known in France, by some moyen of them that favoured the duke: And therefore there came a French ship out of France hastily into Scotland, with secret writings to the duke, who was then in prison in the castle of Edinburgh, to advertise him, that it was concluded by the king and council, that he should be justified upon a certain day, which was the day after the ship strake in the road of Leith, beside Newhaven, and gave himself forth as a passenger with wine, and sent up word to the castle to the duke, if he would have any of their support. When he heard thir novels, he desired of the captain licence for to send for two bosses of wines, who gave him leave gladly, and provided the bosses himself. And then the duke sent his familiar servant to the French ship,

ship, and prayed him to send two busses full of Mal-
vely; which he obeyed thankfully: And, in one of
the busses, he put a roll of wax, wherein was closed
a secret writing, which shewed the duke such tidings
as he was not content with: But, in the other bolls,
there were certain fathoms of cords, to support him
in his need; at that time. The busses were of the
quantity of two gallons the piece; wherefore they
were the less to be known, that there was ought in
them but the wine. Notwithstanding, the man that
brought the wine sped him fast again to his master,
and shewed him certain things by tongue that this
stranger spake to him. And that night the duke
called the captain to the supper, and promised him a
drink of good wine; who gladly accepted the same,
and came to him incontinent, and supped with him.
The duke gave his chamber-chiel command, that he
should drink no wine that night, but keep himself
fresh, for he knew not what he had ado. Therefore
he prayed him to beware with himself; and if there
arose any thing amongst them, he prayed him to take
his part, as he would be a good master to him there-
after.

When supper was done, the captain passed to the
king's chamber, to see what he was doing, who was
then lodged in the castle; and when he had visited
him, he gart steik the gates, and set the watchmen;
and thereafter came again to the duke's chamber at
the collation, and after they had drunk their collati-
on, and all men were in their beds, the duke and the
captain went to the tables, and played for the wine.
The fire was very hot, and the wine was strong, and
the captain and his men became merry; while, at
last, the duke of Albany perceived his time, and
made a sign to his chamber-chiel to be ready, as he
had instructed him before: For, at that time, the
duke thought there was no remedy, but either to die
or do; because that he was surely advertised, by the
French ship, that he was to be headed upon the morn.
Therefore he thought best to preven the time, and
put his life in jeopardy; for if he slipped that occa-
sion,

sion, he would not find the like: Therefore he put himself in a venture, and lap from the board, and struck the captain with a whinger, and slew him, and also sticked other two with his own hand; and, in the mean time, his chamber-chiel was very busy; and so the two overthrew four, that is to say, the captain and his three servants; and, when they had done, cast them in the fire; and afterwards took out their tows, and passed to the wall of the castle, at a quiet place, where the watchmen might have no sight of them, and there stretched their cords over the wall, and the duke let down his chamber-chiel; but the tow was short, he fell and broke his thigh-bone; and thereafter cried to his master, and bade him make the tow longer, for he was gone. The duke rave the sheets of his bed, and made the tow longer, and passed down himself safely: And when he came down, he perceived his servant lying in point of his life. He took him upon his back, and bore him as far as he might win away, and left him in a quiet place, where he might be safe; and syne went to Newhaven, and made a sign to the ship; who sent her boat to the land for him, and received him up into the ship; but I know not if his servant went with him or not: But surely many gentlemen of Scotland wished to have been with him; among the rest, Sir ALEXANDER JARDIN, laird of Applegirth, he passed with him, and sundry other gentlemen. But, on the morrow, when the watches perceived the tow was hanging over the wall, they ran to seek the captain, to have shewn him the manner; but he was not in his chamber; they could not get him. Then they passed to the duke's chamber, and there they fand the door standing open, and a dead man lying sticked; and also they saw the captain, and the two other, in the fire, burnt, which was very dolorous and fearful unto them; but they mist the duke of Albany and his chamber-chiel. They ran speedily and told the king how the matter had happened, that the captain was slain and his servants; but the king would give no credence to them, till he went himself to see how the matter stood;
and

and saw the captain and his men dead lying burnt in the fire. Then considered he the whole case how it stood, and caused the gates to be holden close, that no word should pass to the town, till he had searched all the place, to see if the duke had been in the castle or not. But when he, on no ways, could find him, he caused send all his horsemen into all parts and countries, to see if they could apprehend him in any place, and bring him to the king again, and they should have great reward therefore: But, on no ways they could get him, or yet wit of him; till, at the last, a man came out of Leith, and shewed the king, that there came a boat out of the French ship, and and took in certain men, and thereafter took up their sail and travished up and down the Frith. They judged all to be the duke, as it was true: For he past into France incontinent, and was well received of the king, and got the duchess of Bologne in marriage, and got upon her JOHN STUART, which, after him, was duke of Albany and governor of Scotland.

But we will leave off them, and turn to our history, how, at the hour of nine, the whole lords came up to the castle to the king, to see what order should be taken with the execution of his brother, the duke of Albany, in what place he should be headed: But when they knew how the matter stood, there were some of them very sorry, thinking that he would quite them a common, if he lived. But other some that favoured him, and knew that he was innocent, were well content that he had freed himself in that manner, thinking that they would hear better tidings of him another day; yet the king was very commoved at the slaughter of the captain of the castle; but he was more fearful at the departure of the duke, that he was so escaped, thinking on the vain suspicion that was put in his head, toward his brother, by the witch, and the enchantment of the devil: Thinking ever, that he should not be satisfied in his mind, unless his brother had been put to death, like as the earl of Mar was put to death before. But from time that

he was sure advertised, that his brother the duke of Albany was entertained in France, by the king and council, and had gotten the duchess of Bologne in marriage, in that respect he thought he would never return to Scotland again hastily, because he was both forfaulted, and had broken his ward, and made slaughter therein. Yet, notwithstanding, the lords took fear ever of his returning, and therefore durst never execute their intents, till they knew surely he was dead. And in this mean time, the king past through all Scotland, at his pleasure with peace and rest.

And in this mean time, there were great wars in England, betwixt EDWARD the duke of York, which usurped the kingdom of HARRY VI. imprisoned; and the duke of Clarence, with his wife, with other certain of his kin and friends, past to Normandy, at that time, to remain there with the duke, his good-brother, till he saw further. And we return to our history again.

King JAMES III. being in good peace and rest the most part of that year, he went to Stirling as we have shown you, and remained there. He took such pleasure to dwell there, that he left all the castles and towns in Scotland, because he thought it most pleasant dwelling there, and founded a college within the said castle, called the Chapel Royal; and also he bigged the great Hall of Stirling, within the said castle: Also he made, into the Chapel Royal, all kind of office-men, to wit, the bishop of Galloway, dean, and the arch-dean, and the treasurer and sub-dean, chanctor, and sub-chorister, with all kind of other offices pertaining to a college; and also doubled them to that effect, that they should ever be ready, the one half, to pass with him wherever he pleased, that they might sing and play to him, and hold him merry; and the other half should remain at home, in the said chapel, for to sing and pray for him and his successors: And, for this cause, he made great foundation of the said chapel royal.

And,

And, in the mean time, the benefice of Coldingham vaked; and the king thought to have given the same to the chapel royal of Stirling: But the Humes, hearing of this, were in no ways content; and specially ANDREW HUME of Fastcastle, who had many fteddings in Coldingham in his hands, for the time, believing to get the same in feu afterwards; because the Humes ever intended to have a prior, in that room, of their own surname: Wherefore they thought the king greatly to be their enemy, because he intended to mell with any thing that they had an eye to, and specially the priory of Coldingham. And, for this cause, the Humes and Hepburns, with certain lords and barons of the country (and, in special, the lords that were put in the castle for the conspiracy of Lawder-bridge) assembled together to convention and council against the king, and banded themselves; so that whenever he laid any thing to their charge, they thought to be party to him.

The king, hearing of thir news, caused send a herald to thir foresaid lords, and charged them and their cautioners, to enter to underly the law, within the space of forty days, for such things as he was to lay to their charge: But the herald was evil intreated in the execution of the summons, and was manifestly deforced, and his letters riven. At the which the king took great displeasure, and knew well there was nothing but rebellion. For the which cause the king passed to Stirling, and garnished the castle with men and victual, and made a man, called JAMES SHAW, laird of Sauchie, alias Halie, captain of the said castle; and delivered him JAMES, his eldest son, in keeping, and commanded him straitly, as he loved his honour and his life, 'That he would let no man enter in the said castle, neither great nor small, till his returning again; nor yet let his son pass out of the castle to play at no game, nor meet with no man, but to keep him straitly within the said castle, till his returning.'

This being done, he came to the castle of Edinburgh, and furnished it in like manner, and put his

whole posse of gold and silver in the said castle ; and required the said captain to watch wisely ; and shew to him, that he was to ride to the north-land amongst his lords, and there to seek counsel and support of them against this new rebellion. On the morn he passed to Leith, and shipped in a ship of captain Wood's, which was bound to Flanders for the time. Some of thir conspirators, who heard tell of the king's diet, followed fast after the king to Leith, and thought to have gotten him there ; but they mist him, and got part of his coffers with money and cloathing : But they believed surely, because the king was in a ship of captain Wood's, which was bound to Flanders, that he was passing there himself ; and that caused them take the less fear, and be the more hardy in spoiling his servants. But the king caused the said captain Wood to land him in Fife, and rode through the same to the north-land, into the town of Aberdeen, and there to meet with all the north-land lords that favoured him, and would take his part : But yet, ere he past, he left word behind him, to the sheriff of Fife, Strathern and Angus, to make proclamation out-through their shires, that all men, betwixt sixty and sixteen, spiritual and temporal, as well burgh as land, that they should be ready at a certain day, at his coming, to pass with him, where he pleased, to danton rebels and conspirators against him.

The rebels, hearing of this the king's provision against them, sought all the ways and crafty means they could, to make themselves able against the king, and all that would take his part : Thinking either they should fight with the king, and give him battle, or else cause him to the flight out of Scotland ; and yet because their title was not good, they durst not attempt the same, because they knew the king to be well loved with all the commons and borrows ; and, in special, with all the antient lords and barons of the country, who were so wise, that they knew the danger, what it was to rebel against a crowned king.

Thir

Thir motives, and other things, were a hinder to thir conspirators to put hand in their prince : But certain of the eldest, to wit, the earl of Angus, the lord Evendale, the earl of Bothwell, the lord Hume, with diverse others, concluded, by their counsel, not to mell with the king, without they had the prince, his son, in their hands ; and to this purpose they concluded all ; and thereto found the crafty moeyen ; that is to say, they send a messenger quietly to the captain of Stirling, desiring him affectuously, that he would come and speak with them, for his own well and singular profit : who was very loath to come to them : But yet, at last, they made him so fair promises, and gave him such gifts of gold and silver, that he was finally corrupt, and brought to their purpose, to grant all the petitions they desired of him at that time, to wit, that he should deliver the prince in their hands incontinent, and keep the castle still in the prince's name and theirs ; and that he should not receive the king in time coming, nor none of his, in the said castle. For thir causes they gave him great sums of money, and he immediately delivered the prince unto them ; who went with him to Linlithgow, and there made proclamations to all manner of men that would come and defend the prince, because they alledged, that the king had suspicion at his son, and at them, like as he had to his brethren before ; and was coming, with a great army, to take him and put him in prison : Therefore they desired all men, that loved the commonwealth, to come and defend the prince : And also they fied their waggons and men of war to pass with them, with the king's own money which they got at Leith, and passed all forward with the prince against the king's coming ; who knew nothing of this treason, wrought at this time by the captain of Stirling, nor yet of the deliverance of his son ; but pertly came forward with all the North of Scotland : That is to say, Ross, Sutherland, Caithness, Mar and Murray, Buchan and Merns, Angus, Gowry, Fife, Strathern, Stirling-shire, Athole

Athole, Argyle, with some of the lords of the west-land that favoured him: For there were none in all thir foresaid shires but they took part with him, both gentlemen and commons, allénarly, except the lord Gray in Angus, and the lord Drummond in Strathern, who were with the other party against the king.

Notwithstanding, the king came pertly forward to St. Johnstoun, and there warned all the lords and gentlemen of Fife, to meet with him, with the whole commons thereof, both on horse and foot; who came obediently to the king, and with them in company lord DAVID LINDSAY of the Byres, as captain and lieutenant to them, at the king's command; for he had been long in France before, and was well experimented in wars: Therefore the king thought him most able, at that time, to give him charge, because he knew him hardy, and true to his grace sundry times before, when he had ado: Therefore the lord DAVID met with him at St. Johnstoun, with three thousand footmen, and a thousand horsemen, all ready to wair their lives with him, in his defence. The said lord DAVID himself riding upon a great grey courser, he lighted down, and made his obedience to the king; and thereafter presented the said éourser to the king, shewing his grace, that if he had ado in his extremity, either to flee or follow, that horse should war all the horse of Scotland, at his pleasure, if he would sit well. The king thanketh him greatly. ALEXANDER lord Ruthven, sheriff of Strathern, brought to him a well-favoured company of men, to wit, a thousand gentlemen, well horsed with jack and spear, a thousand bows, a thousand half-long swords and habergeons; which contained in the whole three thousand, with St. Johnstoun, which past all in company with the sheriff; and all the rest of the North-land men and West-land men met the king at Stirling. So the king was of number, when he entered into Stirling, thirty thousand able men by commons. He passed into the castle incontinent, and desired to be in: But the captain denied, and

and refused to receive the king. Then he desired to see his son for to speak with him. The captain refused that in the like manner, and said, 'He would not speak with him at that time.' Yet the king inquired gently where he was; and he shewed him that he was with the lords, who took him against his will. Then the king answered and said, 'Fy, traitor, thou hast deceived me; and, if I live, I shall be revenged on thee, and thou shalt be rewarded as thou hast served.'

The king thereafter past to the town, and lodged all night, and caused a strait watch of his army to stand about the town that night; while, on the morrow, that the day brake the king rose, and his council and lords that were with him, and past forward to the Torwood in arrayed battle, and there planted down till more came to him. But the king's enemies, on the other side, perty came forward to the water of Carron, above the bridge, about the number of twelve thousand horsemen, and six thousand footmen, and planted there that night. While, on the morn there came wise men on both the sides, to treat of peace: But the king seeing that he was so great of power above his enemies, who had risen and rebelled against him, then the king arrayed his battle and made forward to the fields, and put all his men in order as after follows: That is to say, ten thousand men of Highland-men, with bows, in the van-guard; the earl of Huntley and the earl of Athol, leaders of the said host. In the rear-guard ten thousand men of the West-land and Stirling-shire, with the earl of Monteith, lord Erskine and lord Graham, leaders of them. The king himself in great battle, with all the borrows and commons of Scotland, on the one wing. On the right hand passed lord DAVID earl of Crawford, and lord DAVID LINDSAY of the Byres; with them in company, of Fife and Angus, in number two thousand horsemen, and six thousand footmen; and on his left hand and wing, passed ALEXANDER lord Ruthven,

with

with all Strathern and the Stormont, to the number of five thousand men.

Thus the king, being in order, passed forward in arrayed battle. The word came to him, that his enemies were in sight. Then the king cried for his horse, and lap upon the horse that the lord DAVID had given, and rode to see and know the manner of their coming. The king beheld them in three battles, to the number of six thousand men in every battle; the Humes and the Hepburns having the van-guard, with the Merse and Teviotdale, with the East-Lothian. And next them in battle, Liddisdale and Anandale, and many of Galloway. And then came all the whole lords that conspired against the king, and brought with them, in company, the prince, to be their buckler and safe-guard; and hasted fast forward, with great courage; because they knew the king's faculties, that he was never hardy, nor yet constant in battle. Then the king, seeing his enemies coming forward with his own banner displayed, and his son against him, he remembered of the words that the witch spake to him before, 'That he should be destroyed and put down by the nearest of his kin;' which he saw apparently for to come to pass at that time: And, by the words of the foresaid witch, illusion and enticement of the devil, he took a vain suspicion in his mind, that he hastily took purpose to flee.

In this mean time, the lords, seeing the king's courage, desired him to pass by the host till they had foughten the battle: But, by this, the Humes and the Hepburns came so fast upon the king's van-guard; and, on the other side, they shot them so fast with arrows, that they hurt and slew many of the horses, and put them a-back; But, at the last, the thieves of Anandale came in shouting and crying, and feared the king so, (having no practice in war) that he took purpose and ran his way, and thought to win the town of Stirling: But he spurred his horse at the flight-speed, coming through the town of Bannockburn. A woman seeing a man coming fast

fast upon his horse, she standing in a flonk bringing home water, she ran fast away, and left the pig behind her: So the king's horse, seeing this, lap over the burn and flonk of free-will; but the king was evil-sitting, and fell off his horse at the mill-door of Bannockburn, and was so bruised with the fall, and weight of his harness, that he fell in swoon; and the miller and his wife haled him out of it into the mill, not knowing what he was, but cast him in a nuik, and covered him with a cloath. While, at the last, the king's host, knowing that the king was gone and fled, debated themselves manfully; and, knowing that they were borderers and thieves that dealt with them, therefore they had the more courage for to defend themselves. At last they returned and fled in good order, till they got the Torwood, and there debated a long time, while night came; and then many of the said army passed to Stirling, and their enemies following them, many were taken and hurt on both sides, but few slain.

But, at last, when all the host was passing by, and the enemies returned again, the king overcame lying in the mill, and cried if there was any priest there to make his confession. The miller and his wife, hearing thir words, required of him, what man he was, and what his name was. He happened out unluckily, and said, 'I was your king this day at morn.' Then the miller's wife clapt her hands, and ran forth, and cried for a priest to the king. In the mean time a priest was coming by, (some say it was the lord Gray's servant) and he answered, 'Here am I, a priest; where is the king?' Then the miller's wife took the priest by the hand, and led him into the mill where the king lay. As soon as the said priest saw the king, he knew him incontinent, and kneeled down upon his knee, and speired at the king's grace, 'If he might live, if he had good leiching.' Who answered him, and said, 'He trowed he might, but desired a priest to take his advice, and give him the sacrament.' The priest answered

answered and said, ' That I shall do hastily.' And pulled out a whinger, and gave him four or five strokes, even into the heart ; and then got him on his back, and went away : But no man wist what he did with him, or where he yearded him ; for no wit was gotten of him, or of his dead, nor yet who slew him, a month after. Notwithstanding the battles were dissevered, in manner as I have shewn, the king's battle fled to Stirling ; and the other passed that night to their tents, and on the morn to Linlithgow. I cannot hear of no man of reputation that was slain at that time ; but there were many earls, lords and barons that were taken and ransomed. This unhappy battle was stricken in the month of June, the eighteenth day, one thousand four hundred and eighty eight years.

This may be seen and known, as an example to all kings that come after, to give them a lesson, that they fall not from God, using their wicked lives to their own sensual pleasures, and live by enchantment of sorcery or witchcraft, to seek knowledge or support of the devil, as this feeble king did : For it will cause them to fall in suspicion with their lieges and kinsmen ; at last it shall cause them to use such tyranny and mischief in their realm, by illusion of the devil.

THE

T H E

H I S T O R Y

O F

K I N G J A M E S I V.

KING JAMES III. unworthily slain in this manner, as is aforesaid, JAMES IV. and all the rest of the conspirators that came against the king, passed to Linlithgow, and there remained till they got word if the king was slain or not.

In this mean time there came a man to them in Linlithgow, shewing to them, that there were two ships of captain Wood's travishing up and down the Frith. Of the which ships, the one was called the Flower, and the other the Yellow Carnal. They had had sent their float-boats to the land, and received many hurt men, out of the field, into their ships; of whom they believed the king should have been one of them.

The which tidings the prince, and all the lords that were with him, hearing, took conjecture of the same, thinking that captain Wood was principal servant to the king at the time, and having wages of him, and furnished him and his ships oft-times, to pass where he pleased: Therefore they believed, that he should have waited on the king in the field, and have brought him to the ships. They, certified of this matter, raised their army, and came all to Leith, and there remained two days; and, in the mean time, sent messengers to captain Wood, desiring to know if the king was in the ships, or not; who denied,

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nied, and said he was not there. And bade them search and seek his ships, at their own pleasure, if they would not give him credence. Upon his answer the messengers departed unto the prince and lords, shewing captain Wood's answer. Of the which the prince and lords could not be content; but sent messengers again to captain Wood, desiring him to come to the council, that they might enquire of him how the matter stood. But he, on the other part, knowing that they had murdered his master, in manner as I have shewn, took such suspicion of them, that he would not come in their hands, without pledges that he should be safely delivered, without harm and skaith, again unto his ship. Thir answers the messengers brought again unto the prince and the lords; who incontinent gart two lords pass in pledge for the said captain Wood, till he should be delivered again unto his ships, to wit, the lord Seton and the lord Fleming, and there to remain in the said ships till their captain was delivered.

This being done, the lords delivered into the ships, the said captain went aboard and came to the land, and presented himself before the prince and the lords, in the town of Leith, for they were there for the time: But, as soon as the prince saw the said captain present him before the prince and the lords, in the town of Leith, with certain gentlemen in company, he believed surely he had been his father, and inquired of him, 'Sir, are you my father.' Who answered him again, with tears falling from his eyes, 'I am not your father, but I was your father's true servant, and shall be to the authority till I die, and enemy to them who were the occasion of his down-putting.' The whole lords required of captain Wood, if he knew of the king, and where he was, he answered, 'That he knew nothing of him, nor where he was.' Then they spiered, what they were that came out of the field, and passed to the ships in the float-boats. Who answered and said, 'It was I and my brother, ready with the king to have wair-ed our lives in his defence.' Then they said, 'Is he

‘ he not in your ships?’ Who answered, ‘ He is not ; but would God he were there safely ; I should defend and keep him skaithless from all the treasonable traitors that have cruelly murdered him : For I think to see the day, to see them hanged and drawn for their demerits.’

Then the lords seeing nothing of captain Wood, but despiteful answers and proud speakings, were not content therewith ; yet they durst not put hands on him to do him skaith, because of the lords that were pledges for him : For, if they had done him any skaith, his brother would incontinent hanged the pledges ; which, as it was, skaped narrowly, by reason of the long tarrying of the said captain : Therefore the lords hasted away the captain to his ships, and enquired no more tidings of him.

This being done, the lords were delivered, and came a-land again, that were pledges, who were right sceed ; and shewed the prince and the council, if they had holden captain Wood any longer, they had been both hanged. At this the prince and the lords were very commoved, and desired certain ships of Leith, to pass forth to the Frith incontinent, to take the said captain Wood and bring him. And, to this effect, they called all the shippers and mariners of Leith before the council, to see which of them would take on hand to pass upon the said captain, and they should be furnished with men, artillery and victuals, upon the prince and the lords their expences : But the said shippers and mariners refused all ; but one captain Bartyne answered before the council, and said, ‘ That there were not ten ships in Scotland would give captain Wood’s two ships the combat : For he was so well practised in war, and had such artillery and men, that it was hard dealing with him by sea or land.’

This being spoken, the prince and his council considered the same : and therefore continued that matter till afterward ; and immediately passed to Edinburgh, and there remained a while ; and sent out letters in all parts, both in burgh and land, desiring the whole

lords and nobility, and commissioners of borrows, to compear at Edinburgh, upon a certain day, to see the king crowned, and give their consent thereto. But few compeared, except some commissioners of borrows, and the lords conspirators themselves, who were counsellors to the king for the time: and there they crowned the king: And soon after, sent a herald to the castle of Edinburgh, and desired the same to be rendered to the king and his captains, which was done obediently: But the captain thereof made such moyen with the lords of council, and they that were courtiers for the time, that he was continued still in his office. Some say that he certified some of the lords where the king's pose was, and caused them obtain the same, which was the cause of his continuance in his office.

This being done, the king passed to Stirling, and required the castle to be rendered in the same manner, which was done incontinent, and the king and his court received therein, and a new captain made thereof, to wit, Sir JOHN of Lundie, knight. The king remained a while in the castle of Stirling, and daily passed to the Chapel Royal, and heard Matins and Evening-Song; in the which every day the chaplains prayed for the king's grace, deploring and lamenting the death of his father; which moved the king, in Stirling, to repentance, that he happened to be counselled to come against his father in battle, where-through he was murdered and slain. To that effect, he was moved to pass to the dean of the said Chapel-Royal, and to have his counsel how he might be satisfied, in his own conscience, of the art and part of the cruel act, which was done to his father. The dean, being a godly man, gave the king a good comfort; and, seeing him in repentance, was very glad thereof: But yet this godly man durst not utter his mind unto the king, so far as his conscience served him; because the king was young and youthful, and had no constancy to keep counsel or secret thought, albeit it was for his own profit: And also this godly man dreaded the lords, and them that were conspirators of the king's

king's death, his father; thinking, that these murderers would be discontent, and utterly displeased at him, if he had given the king his counsel, so far as his conscience dyted him: Therefore he continued the same till he saw the king farther in age, and other counsellors about him. In the mean time he gave him fair words, and put him in good hope of forgiveness thereof, by God's mercy in Jesus Christ.

So the king continued in the said castle a season, but he was ever sad and dolorous in his mind for the death of his father, that he was constrained, by his conscience, to use a sign of repentance; and, for the same cause, gart make a girth of iron, and weared it daily about him, and eiked, every year of his life, certain ounces of weight thereto, as he thought good.

The lords seeing this, who were conspirators, thinking in their minds, that the king was dolorous, and ever musing in his mind, thinking, that sometime he would be displeased with their proceedings: Therefore they consulted among themselves, that they would counsel the king to their effect while he was young. And also they feared the lords, on the other part, that were with the king's father, the time of his slaughter, to have defended him: Thinking, that they would get the king sometime at their opinion, that they might be revenged of their master's death by their conspiracy. And, for the same cause, to avoid all such suspicion whereby they might be challenged of the fact, caused the king incontinent to set a parliament, to be holden at Edinburgh within the space of forty days; and summoned and warned all the whole lords of Scotland, and great barons thereof, and commissioners of borrows, to compear at Edinburgh the day and place foresaid, and there to hear and see justice ministered, like as it was in times before, and of their forebeers. But there was a special summons directed on them that were partakers with the king's father, against himself; and also of the borrows; which whole number of the lords was twenty eight, and twenty eight.

great barons. This foresaid number was summoned particularly, every one by himself, to compear at Edinburgh, upon the space of forty days, to answer there, ' For the cruel and treasonable coming with ' the king's father at Bannockburn, against himself, ' thinking there to cause his father to devour the ' son.' With other points of dittay, which I need not to rehearse.

Further, the first lord that ever was specified in the summons, was lord DAVID LINDSAY of the Byres, because he was most familiar with king JAMES III. at that time, and was frankest in his opinion, and used himself most manfully in his defence against his enemies : Therefore the conspirators had greatest envy at him. And when the time came, all the whole lords of Scotland compeared, both on the one side and the other, in presence of the king and council, in the tolbooth of Edinburgh.

The king sitting in judgment himself, the summons was read, and lord DAVID LINDSAY called first, as we have said ; and his dittay is in this manner, as after follows ; that is to say, ' Lord DAVID ' LINDSAY of the Byres, answer for the cruel coming against the king at Bannockburn, with his ' father, giving him counsel to have devoured the ' king's grace here present ; and, to that effect, ' gave him a sword, and a good horse, to fortify ' him against his son. Your answer hereto.'

This lord DAVID LINDSAY, being a rash man of small ingine and rude language, although he was stout and hardy in the fields, and well exercised in wars, yet he had no practice in the laws, and could not answer formally to their dittay, and could get no man of law to speak for him, for fear of the king and his lords, because the king sat in judgment himself ; and specially, because he was accused of treason before the king, at that time. Yet lord DAVID LINDSAY, hearing himself called so oft, and dittay foresaid read, answered on this manner, ' Ye ' are all Lurdanes, my lords ; I say, ye are false ' traitors to your prince ; and that I dare prove ' with

' with my body, on any of you which holds you
 ' best, from the king's grace down : For the false
 ' Lurdanes and traitors have caused the king, by
 ' your false seditions and conspiracy, to come against
 ' his father in plain battle, where that noble prince
 ' was cruelly murdered among your hands, by your
 ' advice, though ye brought the king in presence,
 ' for your behoof, to make him the buckler of your
 ' enterprize. Therefore, false Lurdanes, if the
 ' king punish you not hastily, for that murder, ye
 ' will murder himself, when ye see time, as ye did
 ' his father. Therefore, Sir, beware with them,
 ' and give them no credence ; for they that were
 ' false to your father, can never be true to yourself.
 ' Sir, I assure your grace, if your father were living,
 ' that I would take his part, and stand in no awe
 ' of thir false Lurdanes. And likewise, if you had
 ' a son that would be counsell'd to come in battle
 ' against you, by evil counsel of false Lurdanes,
 ' like thir, I would take your part against them,
 ' and fight against them, in your just quarrel, ever
 ' with three against six of them. And thir false
 ' traitors, which cause you to believe evil in my
 ' hands, I shall be truer at length, to your grace,
 ' than they shall be.

The chancellor, and the rest of the lords that
 sat with the king in judgment, at that time, hear-
 ing the gross and rude speech, and sharp accusation
 of lord DAVID LINDSAY, in presence of the king
 and all the lords, and whole nobility of Scotland,
 the said chancellor thought then he hit them over
 near ; the which therefore the chancellor, to excuse
 the matter, answered and spake to the king on this
 manner. ' Sir, if it please your grace, lord DA-
 ' VID LINDSAY is but a man of the old world,
 ' and cannot answer formally to your grace, nor
 ' yet, in your presence, can speak reverently.
 ' Your grace must be good unto him, and I trust
 ' he will come in your grace's will.' And he spake
 to lord DAVID LINDSAY, and said, ' My lord, I
 ' counsel

‘ counsel you to come in the king’s grace’s will,
‘ and he will be good unto you.’

Thir words were spoken by the chancellor, purposely to cause lord DAVID LINDSAY come in the king’s will, that it might be a preparative to all the lave, that were under the summons of forfeiture, to follow, and come in the king’s will, and thought to have cutled them off that way. But one Mr PATRICK LINDSAY, brother-german to the said lord DAVID LINDSAY of the Byres, hearing his brother was desired to come in the king’s will, was not content therewith; to that effect, he stramped sadly on his brother’s foot, to gar him understand that he was not content with the desire which the chancellor proponed unto him. But the stramp of Mr PATRICK LINDSAY was so sad on his brother’s foot, who had a sore toe, that the pain thereof was very dolorous: Therefore he looked to him, and said, ‘ thou art over pert, lown, to stramp on my foot, ‘ wert thou out of the king’s presence, I should take ‘ thee on the mouth.’ Mr PATRICK, hearing thir vain words of his brother, plat down on his knees before the king and the justice, and made his petition unto them in this manner: That is to say, ‘ Sir, if ‘ it will please your grace, and your honourable ‘ council and justice, I desire at your grace and justice, for his sake that is judge of all, that your ‘ grace would give me leave this day to speak for my ‘ brother; for, I see that there is no man of law in ‘ Scotland this day, that dares speak for him, for ‘ fear of your grace: And though he and I have ‘ not been at one thir many years, yet my heart will ‘ not suffer me to see my native house, that I am ‘ come off, to perish, and the memory thereof to be ‘ abolished.’

Upon this the king’s grace, and his judges, granted to Mr PATRICK his petition, and bade him speak for his brother the best he could. Then Mr PATRICK rose off his knees, and was very blyth, when he obtained licence with the king’s favour and the justice, and began to speak very reverently in this manner,

manner, as after follows ; saying to the whole lords of parliament, and to the rest of them that were accusers of his brother, at that time, which was entered into the boss window, and there to thole an affize, conform to their dittay, saying, ‘ My lords, I beseeke you all that are here present, for his sake that must give sentence and judgment on you at the last day, that ye would remember now, instantly is your time, and we had the time, in times bygone, as we may also after have. Sicklike, desiring you to know your estate, that all is changeable under the sun, but God’s justice and judgment stand ever firm and stable : Therefore now do as ye would be done to you, is the ministratioun of justice to your neighbours and brethren, who are accused this day now of their lives and heritage, whose judgment stands in your hands.’

By this Mr PATRICK ended his speech, the chancellor bade him say something for the defence of his brother, and the rest of the said lords and barons. Mr PATRICK answers in this manner, as after follows, saying, ‘ If it please the king’s majesty, and your honours that are here, I say again, the king’s grace ought not to sit in judgment against his barons, because he hath made his oath of fidelity, when he received the crown of Scotland, That he should never give judgment, nor come in judgment against his lords and barons, in no action where he is party himself. In this action, because he is both judge and party, in the said crime, and was present at the committing of the same ; therefore, he ought not, by the law of God nor man, to be judge, nor sit in judgment at this time : Therefore we desire him, in the name of God, to rise and depart out of judgment, till the matter be further disputed conform to justice.’

Upon this the chancellor and the lords advised, and concluded upon this petition, and fand it reasonable : Therefore they counselled the king to rise, and go ben to the inward Tolbooth, which was very unpleasant to him for the time, being a prince sitting

ting upon the seat-royal, to be raised with his subjects : But the lords thinking shame to break justice, removed him in this manner ; and then called upon the said lord DAVID, and Mr PATRICK his procurator, to answer forward to the summons. The said Mr PATRICK, with all humiliation, spake reverently, saying to them, ‘ My-lords, I beseech you, for his sake that suffered passion for you, and all other sinful persons, and must be judge to you and all others in the day of judgment, that ye will consider stedfastly in your minds, that we have been in the place that ye are in now, and others, or we, may be in your place again, to have the king and court at our pleasure, as ye have now : Therefore look that your proceedings be honest and godly, and just in all the leading of your process.’ The chancellor says, ‘ Ye shall have no cause to plaint by me ; therefore answer shortly to your summons, and make us no more hinder, and ye shall have justice.’ Mr PATRICK answered and said, ‘ I trow the summons be desert and null of the self, because he was summoned to compare to this court and parliament, upon the space of forty days, without continuation of days. No mention is made in your letter, where, nor in what place ; but, generally, before the king and council at Edinburgh. And now my lords, I believe it be one and forty days ; therefore the day is expired of itself, and we ought not to answer till we be new summoned, and lawfully called thereto.’

The lords looked the summons, and the indorsation thereupon ; and when they had tried the matter, they found it so as Mr PATRICK alleged : Therefore, by the practice and order of Scotland, the summons was casten, and the parliament dissolved ; yet they caused the said lords that were upon the pannel, that were to thole judgment, to find caution, every man for himself, under the pains of sums of money, to enter at such a day as was appointed to them ; yet thir whole lords were very blyth, thinking that all evil was good of frist, and were

were content that they had escaped so at that time ; but in special lord DAVID LINDSAY, who was so ravished at his brother Mr PATRICK LINDSAY, of his labours, that he brake forth, saying in this manner, ' Verily, brother, you have fine pyet words, I ' would not have trowed that you had such words. ' By St. Mary, you shall have the Mains of Kirforth for it.'

The king, hearing thir words, was displeased at the said Mr PATRICK, and said to him, ' He should ' gar him sit where he should not see his feet for a ' year ;' and immediately gart have him to the Rosay of Bute, and put him in prison, where he remained a year ere he was loosed. This parliament was holden at Edinburgh, the tenth day of May, one thousand four hundred and eighty nine years.

In the same year certain English ships came in our Frith, and spoiled the merchants, and our friends, that came in our waters. Of this the king and council thought great evil, and desired affectuouſly to be revenged thereof, upon the said English-men ; but they could get no man nor masters of ships, mariners nor shippers, that would take in hand to pass forth upon the said enemies ; till, at last, they sent for Sir ANDREW WOOD, knight of Largo, and desired him to pass forth upon the said English-men ; and, to that effect he should be well furnished with men and artillery : And further, he should have the king's favour greatly, and be rewarded largely for his travel and labours. Of this desire the said Sir ANDREW WOOD was well content, and past forth to the Frith well manned, with two ships, to pass upon the said English-men, whom he foregathered withal immediately before the castle of Dumbar, where they fought long together with uncertain victory : For Sir ANDREW WOOD being but two ships, as fore-said, called The Yellow Carnal and The Flower ; the king of England's ships were five in number, with great artillery : Yet, notwithstanding, the Scottish ships prevailed at length, and that by the wisdom and manhood of their captain, which took
all

all the five English ships, and brought them to Leith as prisoners, and delivered their captain to the king's grace and council. For the which victorious and manly act, the captain, Sir ANDREW WOOD, was well rewarded by the king's grace and council, and holden in great estimation thereafter with the nobility of Scotland.

But soon after the king of England heard tell of the novels, and how his ships were so foughren and taken by Sir ANDREW WOOD, as fore said, was greatly discontent therewith, and made proclamations through all England, who would pass to the sea, and fight with Sir ANDREW WOOD; and if he happened to take him prisoner, and bring him to him, he should have, for his reward, a thousand pounds sterling to spend by year. There were many that refused, because they knew Sir ANDREW WOOD to be such a captain upon the sea; and so chancy in battle, that he oft-times obtained the victory; therefore they had the less will to assaile him. Notwithstanding, a captain of war, a gentleman named STEVEN BULL, took in hand to the king of England, to pass to the sea, and to fight with Sir ANDREW WOOD, and bring him prisoner to the king of England, either dead or quick. Upon this the king of England was right glad, and gart provide to the captain, STEVEN BULL, three great ships, well man-steid, well victualled and well artillieried.

Soon after this the said captain pass to the sea, and sailed till he came to the Scottish Frith, that is to say, at the back of May, and there lay and watched Sir ANDREW WOOD's home-coming, who was then in Flanders for the time, trafficking then nothing but peace. Yet, notwithstanding, this captain STEVEN BULL, waiting his time at the back of the May, took many of our boats, who were travelling in the Frith for fishes, to win their living; notwithstanding the said STEVEN BULL ransomed the shippers, and held many of the mariners prisoners, to that effect, that they should give him knowledge of Sir ANDREW WOOD, when he came in the Frith: While, at the last,

last, upon a summer-morning, a little after the day-breaking, one of the English shippers perceived two ships coming under sail by St. Ebbis Head. Then this Englishman caused some of thir Scottish prisoners to pass to the top of the ships, that they might see or spy if it was Sir ANDREW WOOD, or not. But the Scottish-men had not will to shew the verity, but feigned, and said, they knew them not. But, at last, the captain promised them their ransom free, if they would tell him that it was he indeed, who certified him that it was he. Then the captain was blyth, and caused pierce the wine, and drank about to all his shippers and captains that were under him, praying them to take courage, for their enemies were at hand; for the which cause he caused order his ships in the fier of war, and set his quarter-masters and captains, every man in his own room; syne caused his gunners to charge their artillery, and put all in order, and left nothing undone pertaining unto a good captain.

On the other side, Sir ANDREW WOOD came pertly forward, knowing no impediment of enemies to be in his geat; till, at the last, he perceived thir three ships under sail, and coming fast to them in fier of wat. Then Sir ANDREW WOOD, seeing this, exhorted his men to battle, beseeeking them to take courage against their enemies of England, who had sworn and made their vows, 'that they should make us prisoners to the king of England; but, will God, they shall fail of their purpose: Therefore set yourselves in order, every man in his own room. Let the gunners charge their artillery; and the cors-bows make them ready, with the lyme-pots and fire-balls in our tops, and two-handed swords in your fore-rooms; and let every man be stout and diligent for his own part, and for the honour of this realm.' And thereto he caused fill the wine, and every man drank to other.

By this the sun began to rise, and shined bright upon the sails; so the Englishmen appeared very awfully in the sight of the Scots, by reason their ships

were very great and strong, and well furnished with greater artillery; yet, notwithstanding, the Scots achieved nothing, but cast them to windward of the Englishmen; who, seeing that, shot a great cannon or two at the Scots, thinking they should have stricken sails at their boast: But the Scottish-men, nothing afear'd therewith, came swiftly a windward upon captain STEVEN BULL, and clapt together from hand, and fought there from the sun-rising while the sun go to, in the long summer-day; while all the men and women, that dwelt near the coast, came and beheld their fighting. The night sundred them, that they were fain to depart from other. While, on the morn, that the day began to break fair, and their trumpets to blow on every side, and made them quickly to battle; who clapt together, and fought so cruelly, that neither the shippers nor mariners took heed of their ships; but fighting still, while an ebb-tide and south-wind bore them to Inchcap, forecaunts the mouth of Tay. The Scottish-men, seeing this, took courage and hardiment, that they doubled their strokes upon the Englishmen; and there took STEVEN BULL, and his three ships, and had them up to the town of Dundee, and there remained till their hurt men were cured, and the dead buried; and syne took their captain, and had him to the king's grace, and delivered him there as prisoner; and his grace again received him very gladly, and thanked Sir ANDREW WOOD greatly, and rewarded him richly for his manhood and labours. Syne thereafter took the English captain, and all his men, and gave them gifts of gold and silver, together with their ships, and sent them home to the king of England as a propyne; doing him understand, that he had as manful men, both by sea and land, in Scotland, as he had in England: Therefore desired him, "To send none of his captains, in time coming, to perturb his men within his waters; and if he would, they should not be so well treated, nor escape so well in time coming." Notwithstanding, the king of England, hearing of their news, was not content therewith; but yet he thanked

thanked the king of Scotland for the delivery of his men, and the entertainment of them.

In this mean time, there was good peace and rest through all Scotland, and great love betwixt the king and his subjects: For the king was so liberal, that he left nothing ungiven to his lords and barons, that pertained to him, where he might leifomely give: For he thinking in his own mind, that the vice of covetousness rang into his father, it should not reign into him; nor yet no cowards nor pyke thanks should be authorized in his company; nor he used but with the counsel of his lords: Whereby he obtained the love and favour of all his nobility within his realm: insomuch, that he rode out through the whole realm, him alone, unknown that he was a king, of any man; and would oft-times lodge in poor mens houses, as he had been a travelling man through the country; and, in the mean time, would require of them that he was lodged with, where was the king, or how used the king himself, or how he used his lords and barons, or what they spake of him through the country: And they would answer to him as they thought good. So the king knew, this way, what was spoken of him through the country.

This prince was wondrous hardy, and diligent in the execution of justice; and loved nothing so well as able men and good horse, and used great jousting, and treated his barons wondrous well that were able: And therefore would, sundry times, gar make proclamations out-through his realm, to all and sundry his lords, earls, barons, which were able for jousting and tournament, to come to Edinburgh to him, and there to exercise themselves, for his pleasure, as they were best accustomed. Some to run with spear; some to fight with battle-axe and harness; some to fight with the two-handed swords; some to shoot the hand-bow, cors-bow or culvering: And every man, as he thought best, got his weapon delivered to him by the king, in this manner. He that fought best, got such a weapon delivered to him, by the heralds, as he had foughten with. He that ran with

the spear best, he got a spear headed with gold delivered unto him, with gilt harnessing thereto, to keep in memorial of his practice and ingine. And also the heralds blazoned him to be the best juster and runner at the spear in the realm, among his brethren. And the battle-axe delivered to him who fought best therewith. And likewise the sword, hand-bow and cors-bow delivered by the heralds, the same manner, to them that used them best.

By this way and mean the king brought his realm to great manhood and honours, that the same of his justing and tournament sprang through all Europe, which caused many errant knights come out of strange countries, to Scotland, to seek justing; because they heard of the noble fame, and knightly games of the prince of Scotland, and of his lords and barons, and gentlemen. Many strangers came, but few were refused, but they were foughten with, and warred in singular battle with the Scottish-men.

In this mean time there was a great marvel seen in Scotland. A bairn was born reckoned to be a man-child; but, from the waste up, was two fair persons, with all members and portraiture pertaining to two bodies, to wit, two heads, well-eyed, well-eared, and well-handed. The two bodies, the one's back was fast to the others; but, from the waste down, they were but one personage, and could not know, by the ingine of man, from which of the two bodies the legs and privy members proceeded. Notwithstanding the king's majesty caused take great care and diligence upon the upbringing of thir two bodies in one personage, caused nourish them, and learn them to sing and play upon instruments of music; who, within short time became very ingenious and cunning in the art of music; whereby, they could play and sing two parts; the one the treble, and the other the tenor; which was very dulce and melodious to hear. The common people, who treated them also, wondred that they could speak diverse and sundry languages; that is to say, Latin, French, Italian, Spanish, Dutch, Danish, English and Irish.

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Thir two bodies long continued, to the age of twenty eight years ; and the one departed long before the other, which was dolorous and heavy to the other ; for which many required of the other to be merry. He answered, ' How can I be merry, that have my true marrow as a dead carrion about my back, which was wont to sing and play with me. When I was sad, he would give me comfort, and I would do the like to him. But now I have nothing but dolour of the bearing so heavy a burden, dead, cold and unfavoury, on my back, which taketh all earthly pleasure from me in this present life : Therefore I pray to Almighty God, to deliver me out of this present life, that we may be laid and dissolved in the earth, wherefrom we came.'

Soon after this there came a Dutch knight in Scotland, called Sir JOHN CLOKEHEWIS; and desired fighting and jústing in Scotland, with the lords and barons : But none was so apt and ready to fight with him as Sir PATRICK HAMILTON, brother to the earl of Arran, being then a young man, strong of body, and able of all things ; but yet, for lack of exercise, he was not so well practised as need were ; though he lacked no hardiment, strength, nor courage in his proceedings : But, at last, when the Dutchman and he were assembled together, both on great horse, within the lists, under the castle-wall of Edinburgh ; after the sound of the trumpet, they rushed rudely together, and brake their spears on ilk side on other ; and afterward got new spears and rancountred freshly again : But Sir PATRICK's horse entered with him, and would no ways encounter his marrow, that it was force to the said Sir PATRICK HAMILTON to light on foot, and give this Dutchman battle ; and therefore, when he was lighted, cried for a two-handed sword, and bade the Dutchman light from his horse, and end out the matter, saying to him, ' A horse is but a weak warrant when men have most ado.' Then, when both the knights were lighted on foot, they joined pertly together with awful countenances, and every one strake maliciously at other,

and fought long together with uncertain victory ; while, at the last, Sir PATRICK HAMILTON rushed manfully upon the Dutchman, and strake him upon his knees. In the mean time, the Dutchman being at the earth, the king cast his hat out over the castle wall, and caused the judges, and men of arms, redd and sunder them ; and the heralds and trumpets blew, and cried the victory was Sir PATRICK HAMILTON'S. This Sir PATRICK HAMILTON was brother-german to the earl of Arran, and sister and brother bairns to the king's majesty, and was a right noble and valiant man all his days.

In the mean time, this noble king JAMES IV. was well learned in art of medicine, and also a cunning chirurgéon, that none in his realm, that used that craft, but would take his counsel in all their proceedings.

In this mean time, the Drummonds burnt the kirk of Moneward, wherein were six score of Murrays, with their wives and children ; but few escaped therefrom, but they were either burnt or slain by DAVID DRUMMOND, whom the king punished afterward, by heading of him, with his complices at Stirling.

And also the king gart take a dumb woman, and put her into Inch-Keith, and gave her two young bairns in company with her, and gart furnish them with all necessaries, that is to say, meat, drink, fire and clothes, with all other kind of necessaries which are required to man or woman, desiring to understand the language thir bairns could speak, when they came to lawful age. Some say they spake good Hebrew : But, as to myself, I know not, but by the author's report.

In this mean time, BERNARD STUART, brother-german to the earl of Lenox, and Monsieur DAVENNEY in France, having the Scottish company under his dominion, at the king of France's command, past to Naples, and there was made regent and governor of the same ; who ruled it so with wisdom and gentleness, that he wan all the hearts of the people thereof ; they obeyed him, and loved him so well, that he was called

called, by the Frenchmen, Pithroy of Naples. At this the king and council of France were not content, thinking that he would usurp the crown of Naples unto himself: And, for this cause, directed a great lord in France, to pass and be equal with the said Monsieur DAUBINEY, in all authority and power in government of the said realm of Naples: But from time that Monsieur DAUBINEY knew the king of France's suspicion in the said matter, he would no longer bide in the realm of Naples, but hastily departed and came through England into Scotland, where he was well received with the king and council thereof; and the king treated him well and gently, and set him at the table with himself, and made him judge of all his justings and tournaments, and called him father of war, because he was so practised in the same.

In the year one thousand five hundred and four, and in the month of August, JAMES IV. took his wife MARGARET, the first daughter of HENRY VII. king of England, and was married with her by the advice of the nobility of England and Scotland, and got great sums of money given to him in tocher, with great promises and conditions of peace and rest betwixt the two countries; and thereto the two kings gave both their hands and oaths of fidelity, that they should observe and keep the same induring the time of their lives, without fraud or guile of either of the said parties. But ever alas, their conditions were broken shortly thereafter as ye shall hear: For the king of England, being allied with Scotland in this manner, thinking that he had his time to pass into France to seek his pension; therefore he assembled his whole lords to a council to see what was their mind therein. To the which many of them concluded, and gave him counsel to pursue his own right of the king of France, considering he was allied with the king of Scotland, and banded so in peace with him, that he needed not to dread no back fear in Scotland, as he was wont to do: Therefore they took less care of France, thinking that

that the king should obtain his petition without any manner of trouble or impediment; yet the council of England thought it good to the king to send ambassadors to desire the king of France, pleasantly, and of an honest manner, to deliver and render to him his pension foresaid; with certification, that if he would not, he would come in proper person himself, and seek the same, which might be little to his contentment.

Thir ambassadors passed away to France, at the king of England and council's command, and shewed the king of France their commission and desire; who was not content therewith, believing that the king of England durst not attempt any war against him, and was commoved at the ambassadors, and gavethem a differing answer which was little to effect.

In this mean time there was a bishop in Scotland, called **ANDREW FORMAN**, who was bishop of Murray; and, at that time, was passing to Rome for his business, who rode his way through England, where he was well treated and received by king **HENRY VIII.** and that for the king of Scotland's sake. Syne passed forward to Rome, where he was received there by the pope, and treated there as a stranger.

In this same time, king **LEWIS** of France, and pope **JULIUS II.** fell at discord; and the pope raised a great army of a hundred thousand fighting men, to come against the king of France, and to give him plain battle if he would not yield to his desires. The king of France, seeing the pope's rigorousness against him, gathered to the number of fourscore thousand men, and came to the field manfully, with a triumphant army against him. Thir two armies marched together within the space of a Scottissh mile, every one of them to come together at the sound of trumpet. But this noble bishop **FORMAN**, being in company with the pope for the time, desired at his Holiness, that he might speak with the king of France, to draw some good ways, and bring concord, for the well of both the said parties.

parties. Which petition was granted to him by the pope, who was right glad of his desire. Then this noble bishop went in message to the king of France, where he was lying with his army in proper person, who received this holy bishop with reverence, and intreated him very thankfully for the king of Scotland's sake, and was very blyth of his coming, trusting that, for the king of Scotland's sake, he would not suffer the pope to give him battle, if he might stop it; and, to that effect, he gave him fair words, and granted many of his desires. This bishop came hastily to the pope again, with good narration of the king of France, shewing the pope, that the king of France was ready to defend the liberty of the kirk, specially his holiness, and to serve him, or pass with him where he would bid him. Thir good news, and other more, mitigate the pope's heart, that he was content with all that bishop ANDREW FORMAN had said; that is to say, to scale his army, and to speak with the king of France, and commune kindly with him, as he pleased. With this answer bishop ANDREW FORMAN past hastily to the king of France, and shewed him the pope's good-will and mind toward him; who was well content therewith, and promised to the bishop to scale his army in like manner as the pope did his, and to meet at the place appointed, and to speak with him as the bishop had devised. And, on the morrow both the said armies scaled; and the pope and the king of France met and embraced other, and agreed upon all matters debateable betwixt them by the labours and council of this holy bishop, who was very richly rewarded therefore, and obtained great favours of great men, and of both the parties; that is to say, the pope lighted down off his mule, and delivered her to bishop FORMAN, with great gifts of gold, and had him to Rome with him, and made him legate of Scotland; who made the pope a great banquet in one of his own palaces, the time of his legacy, and he treated the pope and all his cardinals thereunto. When the dinner came, the

the pope and his cardinals placed and sat down according to their estate. Then the use was and custom, that, at the beginning of meat, he that aught the house, and made the banquet, should say the grace, and bless the meat: And so they required the holy bishop to say the grace; who was not a good scholar, and had not good Latin, but began rudely, in the Scottish fashion, in this manner, saying, Benedicite: believing that they should have answered, Dominus: But they answered, Dans, in the Italian fashion; which put this noble bishop by his intendiment, that he wist not how to proceed forward; but happened out in good Scottish, in this manner, the which they understood not, saying, 'The devil I give you to all false carills, in nomine patris, filii, & spiritus sancti.' Amen, quoth they. Then the bishop and his men leugh. And the bishop shewed the pope the manner, that he was not a good clerk, and his cardinals had put him by his intendiment; and therefore he gave them all to the devil in good Scottish; and then the pope leugh among the rest.

When the bishop was made legate of Scotland and had done all his business, as we have shewn, he took his leave of the pope and his cardinals, and past through Italy to France, where he was wondrous welcome both to king and queen, and council, and was richly rewarded for his labours of peace-making betwixt him and the pope; and gave him, for his reward, the bishopric of Burge in Berry, which was to him yearly, in profit, four hundred tun of wine, ten thousand franks of gold, with other small commodities that cannot be rehearsed.

The king of France also shewed to this bishop, how the king of England sent his ambassadors, desiring his pension to be paid, or else he would come to invade his realm, and give him battle: Wherefore he desired the bishop affectuously to speak to the king of Scotland to support him, conform to the tenor of his old band; and also praying the bishop to be his good friend, in counselling the king
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of his affairs; that is to say, when the king of England came in France, that the king of Scotland would raise his army, and come in England. And, to this effect, the king of France sent embassadors into Scotland with the bishop to desire the same, as is aforesaid: But the king gave him a deferring answer, because of the love and tenderness that was betwixt him and the king of England his brother-in-law. Thir ambassadors past again in France, nothing content with their answer. This drew over for a space.

MARGARET, our queen of Scotland, brought home a young son in the month of May, in the year of God one thousand five hundred and eleven.

In this same year the king of Scotland bigged a great ship, called The Great Michael, which was the greatest ship, and of most strength, that ever sailed in England or France: For this ship was of so great stature, and took so much timber, that, except Falkland, she wasted all the woods in Fife, which was oak-wood, by all timber that was gotten out of Norway: For she was so strong, and of so great length and breadth (all the wrights of Scotland, yea, and many other strangers were at her device, by the king's commandment; who wrought very busily in her; but it was year and day ere she was complete) to wit, she was twelvescore foot of length, and thirty-six foot within the sides. She was ten foot thick in the wall, outted jests of oak in her wall, and boards on every side, so stark and so thick, that no cannon could go through her. This great ship cumbered Scotland to get her to the sea. From that time that she was afloat, and her masts and sails complete, with tows and anchors effeiring thereto, she was counted to the king to be thirty thousand pounds of expences, by her artillery, which was very great and costly to the king, by all the rest of her orders; to wit, she bare many cannons, six on every side, with three great bassils, two behind in her dock, and one before, with
three

three hundred shot of small artillery, that is to say, myand, and battert-falcon, and quarter-falcon, slings, pestilent serpentens, and double-dogs, with hagtor and culvering, cors-bows and hand-bows. She had three hundred mariners to sail her; she had sixscore of gunners to use her artillery; and had a thousand men of war, by her captains, shippers and quarter-masters.

When this ship past to the sea, and was lying in the road, the king gart shoot a cannon at her, to es-say her if she was wight; but I heard say, it deared her not, and did her little skaith. And if any man believe that this description of the ship be not of verity, as we have written, let him pass to the gate of Tillibardin, and there, afore the same, ye will see the length and breadth of her, planted with hawthorn, by the wright that helped to make her. As for other properties of her, Sir ANDREW WOOD is my author, who was quarter-master of her; and ROBERT BARTYNE, who was master-shipper.

This ship lay still in the road, and the king, every day, taking pleasure to pass to her, and to dine and sup in her with his lords, letting them see the order of his ship; while, at the last, the king of Scotland was surely advertised, that the king of England was making ready, with all the haste he could, with a great army and navy of ships, to pass to France to seek his pension, whereof the king of Scotland was not content, trusting surely, that if the king of England landed in France to give battle, that he would be charged for support, conform to his old band, which he was loath to break. And, on the other side he was far loather to break his vow made betwixt him and the king of England his good-brother. Yet, notwithstanding, by the crafty counsel of the bishops, which desired never to be at rest with England, but favoured France; so that they counselled the king to pick a quarrel at the king of England, which they believed should cause him start at the king of Scotland, whereby the king of Scotland might have occasion to support France at his pleasure. And in this manner

manner they wrought, and caused the king to send bishop ANDREW FORMAN to the king of England, in embassadry, desiring of him certain silver-work, and golden-work, with rings, chains and precious stones, and other abuilziement of gold; pertaining to the prince, his eldest brother, which was left to his wife, MARGARET, queen of Scotland, in legacy, by her eldest brother.

To thir desires and petition of the embassador fore-said, the king of England's answer was in this manner, as after follows.

My lord embassador desires my brother, the king of Scotland, to have of me silver-work, golden-work, rings, chains, precious stones, or any other abuilziement pertaining to a prince; which was left in legacy by my eldest brother, to my eldest sister MARGARET queen of Scotland. I grant thereto, she shall be well answered thereof; not allenarly of the same, but the double thereof, and make your memorial of all your desires, number and valour thereof, and ye shall not have alone the single, but the double thereof. As I am a true prince, ye shall be answered in all things whatsoever ye will give me in memorial; on this condition, that my brother, the king of Scotland, will keep his oath and band with me, that he hath made lately with consent of his parliament; and I likewise to him shall keep my oath of fidelity, which I made with consent of my lords, by touching the holy Evangel, and our great seals and hand-writ interchanged thereupon, that never one of us should fail to another, for no other man's pleasure, but shall live in peace and rest, with charity and concord, as Christian men and good neighbours ought to do. Therefore I desire my brother, the king of Scotland, for the love of Almighty God, and Jesus Christ his son, which is the author and ground of all peace and rest, that he would sit in his chair, and let me and the French king part among us, that I may seek my own right and just pension, which is holden from me wrongously, by the pride

‘ and avarice of France : Therefore I desire him to
 ‘ sit still, and be judge to us both ; and if he does me
 ‘ no good, do me no evil. And also shew him, that
 ‘ it shall be neither silver nor gold, land-rent nor
 ‘ riches, that shall stand betwixt me and him, in dis-
 ‘ ference ; and that, if he believe not this, send me
 ‘ an answer hastily, before I depart out of England
 ‘ to France, and I shall deliver his desires unto them,
 ‘ together with any other lands or rents that he de-
 ‘ sires. And if he will promise faithfully to keep
 ‘ this band foresaid to me, I shall incontinent, with
 ‘ all the consent of my nobles, make him duke of
 ‘ York, and governor of England to my home-
 ‘ coming ; for the heirs of England must either come
 ‘ of me or him, and I have none, as yet, lawfully of
 ‘ my body ; but I hear say, that MARGARET, my
 ‘ eldest sister, hath a pretty boy, appearantly to be a
 ‘ man of estimation. I pray God to bless him, and
 ‘ keep him from his enemies, and give me grace,
 ‘ that I may see him in honour and estimation, when
 ‘ he cometh to age, that I may entertain him accord-
 ‘ ing to my honour and duty.’

This answer ended by the king of England, and delivered to the embassador, the bishop foresaid, who, when he was dispatching his way, got his reward very greatly of gold and silver, and fair hackneys to ride upon : And also he got the priory of Condembeck, which was in rent, by year, four thousand angel-nobles, by the convent thereof. This bishop took leave, and passed in Scotland hastily, and shewed the king of England's answer.

Of this answer the king was well contented and satisfied, thinking, on no ways, he could refuse so fair offers as his brother the king of England had promised him ; and consulted with himself, and his council consulted, that he would on no ways invade England at that time, for no favour that he had to France. And, to that effect, he sent away this bishop into France, promising them any support or help that he could make them, but he would not pass in England, at that time, to invade his brother, be-
 cause

cause he was sworn thereto in the contrary: But he promised that he would send them an army by sea, to support them as they pleased; and incontinent the king gart victual and furnish his great ship with all kind of orders, and chused four hardy men to be quarter-masters of her, and made the lord Hamilton, earl of Arran, captain and great-admiral, and made the lord Fleming vice-admiral, to sail in the Margaret, and the lord Ross of Hacket in the James, which were the king's great ships at that time: who were well furnished with earls, lords and barons, to the number of ten thousand, who were well arrayed for battle.

And the earl of Arran, having charge to pass with them wherever he pleased, and in special to France, where the army was lying for the time, debating against the Englishmen, thinking that their support should cause the Englishmen and their king to return: But all was for nought. For the earl of Arran, admiral of the said navy of Scotland, kept no direction of the king his master, but past to the west sea, upon the coast of Ireland, and there landed and burnt Craigfergus, with other villages, and then came foremost the town of Air, and there landed and reposed, and played them the space of forty days.

In this mean time, bishop Foxman being in France; with the king and court thereof, who had promised support to the king of France, by his master's direction, and looked daily for the same; and because he could see nothing to succeed of his promise, he wrote home a sharp bill to the king, making mention to him, "That his honour was tint for ever, if he sent not hastily support to the king of France, conform to his promise, which he had made in his name." Also the queen of France wrote a love-letter to the king of Scotland calling him, her love; shewing him, "That she had suffered much rebuke for his sake, in France, for the defending of his honour." She believed surely, that he would recompence her again, with some of his kingly support, in her necessity, that is to say, that he would raise her an army, and come

three foot of ground on English ground, for her sake : To that effect, she sent him a ring off her finger, with fourteen thousand French crowns, to make his expences.

By thir letters came to the king's majesty, he knew well that his navy had not past the right way ; and shortly hereafter got wit, that they were landed at the town of Air ; which displeased the king very greatly : For he believed surely, that they had been in France at the farthest tryft. But because that they had not kept his direction, he sent Sir ANDREW WOOD, with other gentlemen, with herald of arms, and discharged the earl of Arran of his admiralship ; and vowed to God that he should never bruike heritage in Scotland after that day. But this lord hearing the terrible message of the king, and thought he would not obey, and give over the admiralship, as the king had commanded, but passed to the sea, and pulled up sails, and passed where he pleased, thinking that he would come to France in due time.

The king hearing of his unprosperous journey, seeing that France would get no support of him for that time, made a proclamation full hastily, through all the realm of Scotland, both east and west, south and north, as well in the isles as in the firm land, that all manner of men betwixt sixty and sixteen years, that they should be ready, within twenty days, to pass with him, with forty days victual, and to meet at the Burrow-muir of Edinburgh, and there to pass forward where he pleased. His proclamations were hastily obeyed, contrary the council of Scotland's will. But every man loved his prince so well, that they would, on no ways disobey him ; but every man caused make his proclamation so hastily, conform to the charge of the king's proclamation.

The king came to Linlithgow, where he happened to be for the time at the council, very sad and dolorous, making his devotion to God to send him good chance and fortune in his voyage. In this mean time, there came a man clad in a blue gown in at the kirk door, and belted about him in a roll of linnen

linen cloth; a pair of brotiks on his feet, to the great of his legs, with all other hose and clothes conform thereto; but he had nothing on his head, but fyde red yellow hair behind, and on his haffits, which wan down to his shoulders; but his forehead was bald and bare. He seemed to be a man of two and fifty years, with a great pyke-staff in his hand, and came first forward among the lords, crying and speiring for the king, saying, He desired to speak with him. While, at the last, he came where the king was sitting in the desk at his prayers: But when he saw the king, he made him little reverence or salutation, but leaned down grossins on the desk before him, and said to him in this manner, as after follows, Sir king, my mother hath sent me to you, desiring you not to pass, at this time, where thou art purposed; for, if thou does, thou wilt not fare well in thy journey, nor none that passeth with thee. Further, she bade thee mell with no woman, nor use their counsell, nor let them touch thy body, nor thou theirs; for, if thou do it, thou wilt be confounded and brought to shame.

By this man had spoken thir words unto the king's grace, the evening song was near done; and the king paused on thir words, studying to give him an answer: But, in the mean time, before the king's eyes, and in presence of all the lords that were about him for the time, this man vanished away, and could noways be seen nor comprehended, but vanished away as he had been a blink of the sun, or a whiff of the whirlwind, and could no more be seen. I heard say, Sir David Lindsay Lyon herald, and John Innes the marshal, who were, at that time, young men, and special servants to the king's grace, were standing presently beside the king, who thought to have laid hands on this man, that they might have speired further tidings at him: But all for nought; they could not touch him; for he vanished away betwixt them, and was no more seen.

Yet all thir warnings and uncouth tidings, nor no good counsel, might stop the king, at this present;

from his vain purpose and wicked enterprize, but hasted him fast to Edinburgh, and there to make his provision and furnishing in having forth of his army against the day appointed, that they should meet in the Burrow-muir of Edinburgh; that is to say, seven cannons that he had forth of the castle of Edinburgh, which were called The Seven Sisters, casten by ROBERT BORTHWICK the master-gunner, with other small artillery, bullet, powder, and all manner of ordnance, as the master-gunner could devise.

In this mean time, when they were taking forth their artillery, and the king being in the abbey for the time, there was a cry heard at the market-cross of Edinburgh, at the hour of midnight, proclaiming as it had been a summons, which was named and called by the proclaimer thereof, The Summons of Plotcock; which desired all men, 'To compear, both earl and lord, and baron and gentleman, and all honest gentleman within the town (every man specified by his own name) to compear within the space of forty days, before his master, where it should happen him to appoint, and be for the time, under the pain of disobedience.' But whether this summons was proclaimed by vain persons, night-walkers, or drunk men, for their pastime, or if it was but a spirit, I cannot tell truly: But it was shewn to me, that an in-dweller of the town, Mr RICHARD LAWSON, being evil-disposed, ganging in his gallery stair forenent the cross, hearing this voice, proclaiming this summons, thought marvel what it should be, cried on his servant to bring him his purse; and when he had brought him it, he took out a crown, and cast over the stair, saying, 'I appeal from that summons, judgment and sentence thereof, and takes me all whole in the mercy of God, and Christ Jesus his son.' Verily, the author of this, that caused me write the manner of the summons, was a landed gentleman, who was, at that time, twenty years of age, and was in the town the time of the said summons; and there-
after,

after, when the field was stricken, he swore to me, there was no man that escaped that was called in this summons, but that one man alone, which made his protestation, and appealed from the said summons; but all the lave were perished in the field with the king.

Thir novels passed through the town to every man; and, at last, they came to the king's ears, who gave them but little credence, and refused utterly all wise and godly counsel, which was to his honour, and the commonweal of the country; and would use no counsel of his prudent wife MARGARET queen of Scotland, for no prayer nor supplication that she could make: Shewing to him, that she had but one son to him, which was but a weak warrant to the realm of Scotland, and oversoon to him to pass to battle, leaving such small succession behind him: Therefore she thought it best, that he should tarry till God send them more fruit of his body; for she assured him, if he passed in England, at that time, he would get battle. Yet this wise counsel and admonition was of no ways accepted, nor taken in good part by him; because she was the king of England's sister, and therefore was the less regarded. Yet this noblewoman did her duty and labour, so far as she might, for the well of her husband, and the commonweal of the country, and also for the love she bore to her brother, the king of England, desiring no discord to be betwixt the two realms in her time.

But, nevertheless, nothing would be heard, but forward the king went unto the place, where the musters were received, that is to say, in the Burrows beside Edinburgh; where there assembled the king, and all his lords, barons, burgesses and freeholders, and all manner of men betwixt sixty and sixteen, as well spiritual as temporal, both burgh and land, as well the out-ishes as the firm land, which hastily came, and were to the number of a hundred thousand fighting men, together with the carriage men and artillery, which was to the number

ber of thirty shot of great artillery, and thirty field pieces, with all their ordnance of powder and bullet; and passed syne forward to Elke, and camped there; and, on the morrow, went to Wark and Norham, and cast them down: And thereafter went to Foord, and cast it down. Great slaughter was made of the king's men that stood about the house, in the flyings of the timber. Some say the lady of Foord was a beautiful woman, and that the king meddled with her; and also his son ALEXANDER STUART, bishop of St. Andrews, with her daughter; which was against God's commandments, and against the order of all good captains of war, to begin at whoredom and harlotry before any good success of battle or victory had fallen unto them: and fornication had a great part of the wyte of their evil success.

Notwithstanding the king continued still there the space of twenty days without battle; till, at the last, all the victuals and vivers of the commons were spent, and many of the far north-land and isles men were spent and wasted in the famine, in this same manner, that it was force to them to pass home; and every lord and gentleman sent one or two home of their special friends, to bring them victuals in this way; then baid not with the king above ten thousand men by borderers and countrymen; yet the king's grace took no fear, because he believed no battle of the English men at that time.

But this wicked lady of Foord, seeing the king's host so dispersed for lack of victuals, and knowing all the secrets that were among the king's men and army, both of the king himself and his secret council; and this experience she had by her frequent whoredom with the king, and also her daughter with his son, which moved her to ask licence at the king to pass inward in the country, to speak with certain of her friends, declaring to the king, that she should bring him all novels out of the south country, what they were doing, or what was their purpose.

pose for to do, desiring his grace to remain to her coming. And he again, as an effeminate prince, subdued and enticed by the allurements and false deceit of this wicked woman, gave her over hastily credence in this behalf, and believed surely all had been true that she promised: To that effect gart convey her a certain way from the host, as she desired; But this lady thinking nothing that she had promised to the king, that, on no ways she would keep it, for the love she bore her native country; but hastily past with a deceitful mind, to the earl of Surrey, where he was lying at York at that time; and shewed to him the whole secrets of the king of Scotland and his army; what point he was at, and how his men were departed from him, for lack of victuals; and that there were not bidden with him but ten thousand men of all his army: Therefore she thought it expedient, that the earl of Surrey should come forward, with all that he might be at that time. She promised to them that they should have victory; for she, by her craft and ingine, should deceive the king, so far as she could, to put him in the Englishmens hands.

Thir novels being come to the earl of Surrey, by this wicked woman, he was very glad thereof, and thanked her greatly of her labours and travels she took for her native country; promising to her, that within three days, he should meet the king of Scotland, and give him battle.

In this mean time, there were letters come to the earl of Surrey, that his son, the lord Howard, was landed at Dover, six thousand men of war with him, of the best of all king HARRY's armies, sent to him by the said HARRY, who was lying in France at this time, seeking his pension; and got word, that the king of Scotland was come in England invading his realm for love of France; which was contrarious to the law of God, the welfare of both the said realms of England and Scotland, considering the promise, bands, alliance made betwixt both the said realms, as we have shewn before to you.

Not-

Notwithstanding, the king of England lamented heavily the unkindness of his good-brother the king of Scots: And therefore he wrote home a commission to the earl of Surrey, that he should be lieutenant for the time, and raise the whole body of England, both gentlemen and commons, and cause them pass forward against the king of Scotland, to defend their realm; giving him an expresse command, that he should not invade the king of Scotland, by any manner of way but in his own defence; nor should not pursue the king of Scotland, nor none of his, in Scottish ground; but defend themselves within the realm of England.

The earl of Surrey, hearing the letters of commission presented by his son, was very rejoiced; and also of the home-coming of his son lord Howard; and took such courage, that he assembled all his army of England, and made their muster incontinent, to the number of fifty thousand gentlemen and commons. The captains hereof were, the earl of Surrey, principal lieutenant to the king's grace; and under him his son lord Howard, principal governor of the host; and the lord Daeres marshal, the lord of Westmoreland, and the Percies of Northumberland, were chieftains of the vanguard. And thus, in all possible haste, marched forward toward the Scots, where they lay for the time, to wit, at Floudon-hills, taking no care of no enemies to invade them at that time, and specially of Englishmen: For the king, nor none of his council, knew of the earl of Surrey's coming, nor yet believed to have had battle of him, nor of none other of England at that time, considering the king was not present in the realm. Thus the king of Scotland, so insolent, having no foresight nor moyen in the country, lay still, taking no thought, as a man uncounsellable, which would do nothing for his lords and his captains, for the safe-guard of his host, and commonweal of his nobles; nor yet for obtaining of victory, and defending of his own honour; but lying still abiding the lady of Foord's coming: But all for nought;

for

for she did nothing but deceived him, and came not again till the English army came with her. So the king of Scotland never knew the coming of the army of England, while they were within the space of three miles, arrayed in seven great battles.

When thir novels were shown to the king of Scotland, he would scantly credit them; but lap on horse, and rode to the hills to visit them: But when he saw them coming so fast forward, he caused to sound his trumpets, and put his men in array, and ordained to charge his artillery, and make all ready.

In this mean time, the lords passed to the council, thinking they would not suffer the king to give battle, at that time, to a man of low degree. But when the lords passed to the council, as said is, the king disguised himself, and came privily and heard every lord's vote, and what was their conclusion toward his proceedings: To wit, the lords devised and charged PATRICK lord Lindsay to be chancellor, and first voter in the council, because he was best learned, and of greatest age, and had greatest experience amongst them all at that time. They required of him, if he thought good, that the king should give battle to England, at that time, or not. The lord Lindsay, being ripely advised in this matter, seeing the proceedings, conversation and behaviour of the king, answered to the lords in this manner, as after follows, saying, ' My lords, ye
' desire my opinion and judgment, if the king
' should give battle to England, or not. My lords,
' I will give you forth a similitude, desiring you to
' know my mind by the same hereafter. I compare
' your lordships to an honest merchant, who would,
' in his voyage, go to the dice with a common hazarder, and there to jeopardy a rose-noble; on a
' cast, against a gleed half-penny; which, if this
' merchant wins, it will be counted but little, or
' else nought; but, if he tyues, he tyues his honour, with that piece of gold, which is of more value.
' So, my lords, ye may understand by this, ye shall be
' called

' called the merchant, and your king a rose-noble,
 ' and England the common hazarder, who have no-
 ' thing to jeopardy but a glead half-penny, in com-
 ' parison of your noble king, and an old crooked car-
 ' ril lying in a chariot; and though they tyne him,
 ' they tyne but little; but if we jeopardy our noble
 ' king at this time, with a simple wight, and happen
 ' to tyne him, we will be called evil merchants, and
 ' far worse counsellors to his majesty: For if we
 ' tyne him, we tyne the whole realm of Scotland,
 ' and the whole nobility thereof; for none, my lords,
 ' at this time, have bidden but gentlemen; the com-
 ' mons are all departed from us, for lack of victual;
 ' so that it is not decent nor seemly to us, that we
 ' should jeopardy our noble king and his nobility,
 ' with an old crooked caril, and certain sutors and
 ' taylors with him in company: But better it were,
 ' to cause the king remove, and certain of his lords
 ' with him; and, whom he thinks most expedient,
 ' to take the matter in hand, and jeopardy themselves
 ' for the king's pleasure, and their own honour, and
 ' the commonweal of the country at this time: And
 ' if your lordships will conclude in this manner, I
 ' think it best for my own part.'

By this the lord Lindsay had voted in this man-
 ner, the whole lords were content of his conclusion,
 and nominate certain lords to take the battles in
 hand, that is to say, the earl of Huntley in the north,
 the earl of Anglye, the earl of Crawford, the earl of
 Marshal; and, in the west part of Scotland, the earl
 of Glencairn, the lord Graham, the lord Maxwell;
 and in the south, the earl of Angus, the earl of Both-
 wel, the lord Hume, to be rulers of the king's host,
 and fight in battle against England; and the king
 to pass, with a certain company of his nobility, a little
 from the army, where he might see the valiant acts
 of both sides, and be in safeguard himself.

This being devised and spoken, and finally con-
 cluded with all the whole lords; the king, nearhand
 by, disguised, as I shewed to you before, desiring to
 hear their counsel and conclusion, and to be unknown
 of

of them, burst forth, and answered unhappily in this manner, as after follows, saying to them, in a furious rage, ' My lords, I shall fight this day against England, though ye had sworn the contrary ; though ye would all flee from me, and shame yourselves, ye shall not shame me, as ye devise : And to lord PATRICK LINDSAY, that has gotten the first vote, I vow to God, I shall never see Scotland sooner, than I shall cause hang him on his own gate.'

Thus the lords were astonished at the king's answer, seeing him into a fury, and were fain to satisfy his pleasure, and serve his appetite in all things, as he commanded.

By this the watches came, and shewed the king the English army was at hand, marching fast forward within the space of a Scottish mile. Then the king caused blow the trumpets, and set his men in order of battle ; to wit, he gave the van-guard to the earl of Huntley, and to the lord Hume, who were in number ten thousand men ; and took the great battle unto himself, with all the nobility of Scotland, which passed not above twenty thousand men, and marched forward a little in the sight of the Englishmen, which were then passing over the bridge to them. The master-gunner came in presence of the king, and fell on his knees, desiring at the king's grace, that he might shoot his artillery at the English host, where they were coming over the bridge of Till ; for he promised and took in hand, he should cut the bridge at their over-coming, that the king should have no displeasure at the one half, while the other should be devoured : for he stiled his artillery for the bridge, and they came thereon. The king answered to ROBERT BORTHWICK his gunner, like a man that had been rest of his wit, saying to him, ' I shall hang thee, quarter thee, and draw thee, if thou shoot one shot this day. I am determined, that I will have them all before me on a plain field, and see them what they can do all before me.'

The English-men were come all over the bridge, and the van-guards were marching near together, to wit, the Scottish vanguard, the earl of Huntley, the

lord

lord Hume, with the borderers, and country-men thereof in like manner, who joined cruelly on every side, and fought cruelly with uncertain victory: But, at last, the earl of Huntley's Highland-men, with their bows and two-handed swords, wrought so manfully, that they defeat the English-men, without any slaughter on their side. Then the earl of Huntley and lord Hume blew their trumpets, and convened their men again into their standards.

By this the two great battles of England came forward upon the king's battle, and joined awfully at the sound of the trumpet, and fought furiously a long while; but, at last, the king of Scotland defeat them both. Then the great battle of England, led by the lord Howard, who was, under his father the earl of Surrey, governor of that battle, who came furiously upon the king, to the number of twenty thousand fresh men: But the king's battle encountered them hardily, and fought manfully on both the sides, with uncertain victory, till that the streams of blood ran on either side, so abundantly, that all the fields and waters were made red with the confluence thereof. The earl of Huntley and the lord Hume then standing in arrayed battle, who had win the van-guard before, and few of their men either hurt or slain; the earl of Huntley desired at the lord Hume, that he would help the king, and rescue him in his extremity; for he said, that he was overset with the multitude of men. Notwithstanding the lord Hume answered the earl of Huntley in this manner, saying, 'He does well that does for himself. We have foughten our van-guards, and have win the same: Therefore let the lave do their part, as well as we.' The earl of Huntley answered again, and said, 'He could not suffer his native prince to be overcome with his enemies before his eyes.' Therefore called his men together by sluggorn, and sound of trumpets, to have past to the king: But ere he came, all was defeat on either side, that few or none was living; neither on the king's part, nor on the other.

Some say, there came four men upon four horses riding to the field, with four spears, and a wisp on every

every spear-head, to be a sign and witter to them, that every one of them should know other. They rode in the field, and horsed the king, and brought him forth of the field on a din hackney: But some say they had him into the Merse, betwixt Dunse and Kelso; what they did with him there I cannot tell: But one, ten years thereafter, convicted of slaughter, offered to the duke of Albany, for his life, to let him see the place where the prince was yearded; to the token, he should let him see his belt of iron lying beside him in the grave: But, notwithstanding, this man got no audience by them that were about him; the duke of Albany desired not, at that time, that such thing should be known. But we will leave this, and return to our purpose.

The field, discomfeist in this manner, on both the sides; for neither England nor Scotland knew who had the better in that battle, but that the Scottish-men mist their king; for there was ever two English-men slain for one Scottish-man; and so many of the English-men that were alive, retired to the earl of Surrey, and lord Howard his son, and retired a little from the field, and stood on their feet that night, while, on the morn at nine hours, not knowing who had win or tint the field: And likewise the lord Hume stood all that night on his feet, with the number of ten thousand men; while, on the morrow that the sun rose, he seeing no noise, neither of English nor Scots, departed his way, and left the king's artillery behind him, which he might have had rescued, and brought with him if he had pleased: For I heard say, upon the morn at ten hours, that a hundred Scottish-men might have brought away the king's artillery safely, without any stop of English-men. But soon after, the English-men hearing that the lord Hume was retired from the field, came soon together with the number that they might be, carted it, and had it away to Berwick, where much of it remains to this day; syne went through the field seeking the noblemen who were slain, and in special the king's grace. They found many like him, clad in his coat

of armour, but no man could say surely, that it was he; because, the same day of the field, he caused ten to be clad in his coat of armour; among the rest there were two of his guard, the one called ALEXANDER MACULLOCH, and the other the Squire of Cleisch, which were men of makedom both like the king: Therefore when they were dead gotten in the field, and the king's coat of armour upon them, the English-men believing that one of them was the king, they took one of them, whom they thought most apparently to be like the king, and cast him in a chariot, and had him away to England with them: But yet we know surely they got not the king, because they had never the token of the iron belt to shew to no Scottish-man. This sorrowful battle was stricken and ended, on this manner, at Floudon-hills, in the month of September the ninth day, the year of God one thousand five hundred and thirteen; and of his reign the twenty fifth year.

JAMES IV. unhappily slain in this manner, with many of his nobles; not by the manhood and wisdom of English-men, but by the king's own misgovernance, that would not use the counsel of his wise nobles in defending of his honour, and preserving of his army; but used himself to his own sensual pleasures, which was the cause of his ruin: Therefore all other princes may take example by him, which refused honest and good counsel, and specially of them which were the principal defenders of the realm: Though he was the head, they were the arms, and the special defence of the whole body; for oft-times it is heard and seen, that the arms defend the head when it is pursued by violence: and are the buckler that man doth present for the safeguard of the head, though the head sometimes makes little defence to the arms; as so is seen of this unfortunate king, that brought his barons to such a point, through his wilful misgovernance, that they were all cruelly murdered and slain, in his default, and not in theirs. But now we will let him rest with God, and speak of his son JAMES V. and how the realm was guided in his minority.

T H E

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O F

KING JAMES V.

JAMES V. being the age of two years and five months; by advice of the lords, was crowned at Stirling the twentieth day thereafter, and was in government and keeping of his mother, MARGARET queen of Scotland, who chused a guard to be about her son, for safeguard of his body, to wit, the lord Evandale and his brother.

In this mean time, king HARRY VIII. of England obtained his pension; and hearing the king of Scotland's death, was very heavily displeased therewith, and gave command to his nobles and borderers of England, under the pain of treason, that none of them should pass in Scotland, to invade the same, in during the king's minority: And this he commanded straitly, and set out letters thereupon, for love of his sister and sister's son, thinking that nought should fail on his side, in observing of the band made betwixt the king of Scotland and him. Notwithstanding, the borderers of Scotland were ever doing what they might to break the same.

Yet soon afterhend there came great trouble in Scotland among ourselves; partly for the authority, who should be highest, and have the realm in government; and partly for old feud and slaughter that had been before, in king JAMES IV. his time: Thinking, that it was then time to quit commons, when the

prince was young and no authority to reign above them: For JAMES earl of Arran pretended highest in this realm, to have the government thereof, thinking that he was nearest of blood unto the king in the realm of Scotland, at that time: But yet the lords of Scotland would no ways be consent that he had any pre-eminence or authority, so long as the queen kept her widow-hood, and her body clean from leachery.

But short time after this the earl of Angus haunted the court, and was very lusty in the queen's sight, whom she loved, and thought most able; and she took him to her husband, without the advice and counsel of the lords; for they knew nothing thereof a long time after. Then the earl of Arran, being advertised of her behaviour and proceedings, assembled all his kinsmen and friends together, and then past to Edinburgh, and desired the lords to a convention, shewing to them, that the queen had tint her government of the prince, and the authority of the country, because she had taken a husband without the lords advice: Therefore desired them that he might have the authority, as nearest to him of the blood. The lords hearing this, would conclude nothing at that time, while they were further advised.

In the mean time the earl of Angus, getting wit of this convention, and the effect of their purpose, came pertly to the town of Edinburgh, with his kin and friends in company, which were the number of four hundred spears, well arrayed in jack and spear, and other armour, according to their estate; sync took his lodging for that night. But as soon as the earl of Arran and bishop JAMES BEATON, and the lave of his complices, got wit the earl of Angus was come to the town, and but a few number with him, to the effect of their multitude, caused incontinent strike the port of the town, and thought to have taken him and put him in prison: But his friends, being advertised thereof, watched starkly that night; while on the morn, they come and shewed the earl of Angus the provision that was making for him, shewing
ing

ing him, that if he passed not hastily to the gate, and defend himself manfully, he would be taken out of his lodging with his enemies, and led captive at their pleasure.

This the young lord was nothing content with, but hastened him to his armour, and caused his friends and servants to do the same; and past to the gate manfully, and stood at the Nether-bow in arrayed battle. But Mr GAVIN DOUGLAS, bishop of Dunkeld, past betwixt, to see if he could find any good ways betwixt the two parties; and in special he past to bishop JAMES BEATON, where he was in the Black-Friers kirk for the time. The said Mr GAVIN desired the said bishop JAMES BEATON, to take some pains to labour betwixt the two parties, who were at a sharp point; and some say, my lord, you have the wyte. But the bishop answered him again with an oath (clapping on his breast) By my conscience I know not the matter. But when Mr GAVIN heard the bishop's purgation, and how he clapped on his breast, and perceived the plats of his jack clattering, thought all was but vain that he had spoken; and answered, and said unto him, 'I perceive, my lord, your conscience is not good, for I hear it clatter.' Of this the bishop was ashamed, and excused the matter so far as he could safely with his honesty. But Mr GAVIN, seeing him in this estate standing, passed from him to Sir PATRICK HAMILTON, desiring him in like manner, to speak with his brother the lord of Arran, that he would be contented, that my lord of Angus might pass to the castle, and speak with the queen's grace, and thereafter to depart forth of the town without molestation or trouble of any man.

At the whilk request Sir PATRICK HAMILTON went, with all diligence, to his brother my lord of Arran, and shewed him my lord of Angus's desire, by his uncle Mr GAVIN DOUGLAS. Of the which desire my lord Arran was well content, that my lord of Angus should have done his business in the town at his pleasure, and to depart when he list, without molestation.

lestation or trouble ; and this by the solistation of Sir PATRICK HAMILTON his brother. But Sir JAMES HAMILTON his son, that bloody butcher, ever thirsting for blood, was noways content of this appointment, but raged at the said Sir PATRICK for his labours, saying to him, ' He had no will to fight in ' his friend's action nor quarrel, though it were never so just.'

At this novels the said Sir PATRICK was so grieved, and burnt in anger as the fire, and answered the said Sir JAMES in this manner, saying to him, ' Bastard-smaik, thou liest falsely, I shall fight this ' day where thou dare not be seen.' And with this rushed rudely out of their lodgings, and past to the high-gate in a furious rage : But when the earl of Angus saw them coming, and perceived Sir PATRICK HAMILTON foremost, with him the master of Montgomery, and saw them in such a fury, he knew well there was nothing but fighting ; and cried on his men to save Sir PATRICK HAMILTON, if they might : But he came so far before the lave, that he was slain hastily, and with him the master of Montgomery, with many other gentlemen and yeomen, to the number of three-score twelve persons. The earl and all his company gave backs, and were chased, and ran away out-through the loch ; and Sir JAMES his son chased in the same manner ; and bishop JANES BEATON fled to the Black-Friers, and was taken out behind the high altar, and his rocket riven off him, and had been slain, were not Mr GAVIN DOUGLAS requested affectuously for him, saying, ' It was sin to put hand in a consecrated ' bishop.' Therefore they saved him at that time. But the earl of Angus past to the castle, and spake with the queen at his pleasure : And so the Douglasses kept the gate and their honour at this time. Long time afterward this skirmish was called, by the commons of the country and town of Edinburgh, ' Cleanse the Caseway.' The date of this skirmish was in the year of God, one thousand five hundred and fifteen, in the month of May.

Short.

Short while after this, the earl of Angus became very proud and insolent in all his doings, thinking, whoever had right to the authority he should be nearest. To that effect he cherished all loose men, and most part thieves and traitors of Anandale, Liddisdale and Teviotdale, that his company, wherever they passed, made great her ship, theft and slaughter; and sometime in the Merse and Lothian, where the lord Hume and his friends had dominion. The lord Hume, being a wise and natural man, considered the earl of Angus's proceedings, and the great favour and love he had of the queen, and the victory he had of the earl of Arran, thinking, that if he had rexed any longer without correction, and a fall, that he would overcome the whole country, and that by the young counsel he had about him.

The lord Hume, seeing this, set his intent to put remeid hereunto; and convened a council, by his moyens, of the most part of the nobility at Edinburgh, shewing to them, that the realm was evil guided, and overhauled by my lord of Angus and his men on the one part; and my lord of Arran, on the other part; striving daily for the authority; howbeit neither of them had right thereto: Therefore desired their wisdoms, that they would send to France to the duke of Albany, who was the righteous governor of this realm, and desire him to come and receive the authority and guidship of the country, to put order thereunto during the king's minority.

The lords, hearing this, caused the chancellor to answer to the lord Hume, who said unto him in this manner, ' My lord, the duke of Albany is a French-
' man born: though he be nearest of blood to have
' the government of this realm, yet he hath not our
' language, nor knows not the nature of our coun-
' try, nor laws, nor execution thereof, so well as
' our own lords, that are born and gotten in Scot-
' land, and have our language; and therefore, my
' lord, I think it best for me to chuse one of our
' own lords, who understands us, and we him, and
' knows

‘ knows the qualities of Scotland.’ Further, the chancellor nominated two, to wit, the earl of Arran, and the earl of Lenox, thinking they would chuse one of thir two. But the lord Hume answered the chancellor very sharply again, and said to him in this manner. ‘ My lord, trow you, or any lord that is here present at this time, to defraud the duke of Albany of his right, and just title of the government of Scotland, by your allegiance, or any cause or motion that ye can propone at this time ? For I assure you he shall and will come in Scotland, contrary all them that would not ; and if no man will consent thereto, I will consent ; and, failing his home-coming I shall rather pass for him myself.’

The chancellor and the lords hearing this, the lord Hume was so-servent in the duke of Albany’s cause, spured at the lord Hume, if he would first subscribe the election of the duke of Albany, and they would follow syne, and subscribe ; who answered and said he would with good-will : And immediately took the pen in his own hand, and subscribed the said election. Then all the lave of the lords and barons subscribed the same ; and directed their commission thereupon to an ambassador, to wit, Sir ANDREW WOOD of Largo, directing him to France to the duke of Albany, desiring him to come into Scotland to receive the government thereof, by his own just title and their election, and their hand-writs given thereupon. This Sir ANDREW WOOD made him ready, and dressed his ship to pass forward this message.

But, in this mean time, bishop ANDREW FORMAN of Murray, and legate of Scotland for the time, had many of the benefices in his hands, by reason he was legate ; and principally of the bishoprick of St. Andrews, who had provided the bulls thereof to himself ; but he, on no ways, could get them proclaimed, nor durst not intend the same, for fear of the Hepburns ; because prior JOHN HEPBURN was vicar-general of the bishoprick of St. Andrews, and

uptook

uptook the profit thereof: Therefore he, nor none of his friends, had no will that bishop ANDREW FORMAN's bulls should be proclaimed, but stopt them with all their power, that neither into St. Andrews nor Edinburgh, none durst intimate nor proclaim them, for fear of the said prior and his friends.

This bishop Forman, seeing this, made his moan and complaint to the lord Hume, shewing him that he was a Merse-man born, and all his kin and friends servants to him and his house: Wherefore he desired him to cause his bulls to be proclaimed, and to fortify him against the Hepburns: To that effect he gave him the priory of Coldingham to give to his brother, which was vacant in his hands at that time, by reason he was legate. The lord Hume, seeing bishop FORMAN's liberality to him, caused his brother Mr WILLIAM HUME pass to Edinburgh, with the number of ten thousand men, and there proclaimed the said bishop's bulls, contrary all the Hepburns wills and might, at that time: And also past to St. Andrews and intimated the same, and to give the bishop institution and possession of the said bishoprick. But prior JOHN HEPBURN, hearing of this, convened his friends, servants and tenants, whom he had of gentlemen of Fife, and manned the kirk of St. Andrews with men, weapons and artillery, that on no ways, he would let the said bishop enter therein, but at his pleasure; and likewise kept the said castle straitly against him, that he could get no entrance, neither in kirk nor castle. The bishop, seeing this, thought well it was but gear that would make the matter even betwixt them. caused his friends to labour to that effect to satisfy the prior's stubborn mind; and, by the counsel of wise men, gave to this prior the vicar-generalship free, together with three thousand pounds, to give among his friends; and so satisfied him in this manner. But prior JOHN conceived sike hatred against the Humes, for taking part against him with this bishop, that his malice nor envy was never quenched, so long

long as the lord Hume or his brother were on life, as ye shall know afterward,

In this mean time, Sir ANDREW WOOD past to France, and shewed the duke of Albany his commission that he had from the lords of Scotland, and in special from the lord Hume; desiring him to come in Scotland, as I have shewn before, and there to receive the government thereof, that justice may be ministrated according to the laws of this realm. Of this message and commission the duke of Albany was very well content, and thanked Sir ANDREW WOOD greatly, and rewarded him for his labours; and syne passed to the king of France, and desired his licence thereunto, shewing the commission was brought to him out of Scotland, to be governor, as we have shewn, desiring the king of France for support of men and money to pass with him to Scotland, who granted to him very gently all that he would desire, and was very sorrowful at his departing out of France; because he was such a man of war, that he left not his maik in the realm of France behind.

Notwithstanding the duke passed to the sea with five hundred men and artillery, such as he could provide; that is to say, five hundred men of war, twenty four gentlemen in his guard, together with powder and bullet, such as he might furnish at that time, that is to say, six great cannons, and six great field pieces, with other small artillery, with culvering, hagbut and cors-bow; and then passed hastily to ship-board, and pulled up sail to pass to Scotland: But the Englishmen, knowing of his coming, made for him to have foughten with him; but he was so well artillieried and manned, that they durst not mell with him; because they knew he was a noble man of war, they let him pass by without any impediment. So he came hastily in Scotland, and landed the tenth day of May, in the year one thousand five hundred and fifteen; who was well received in Scotland with all the nobility and commons thereof, thanking God that they had gotten one of the

the blood-royal of Scotland to reign over them, and govern them by justice in the king's minority. To that effect the lords incontinent convened at Edinburgh, and set a parliament, that the duke of Albany might be received as their protector and governor.

This parliament was set in the month of July, in the year of God above-written, which was holden at Edinburgh by consent of the queen and whole nobility, both spiritual and temporal, with commissioners of Burroughs : And there, really, and with effect, received and admitted the duke of Albany their protector, and governor of Scotland; and thereto made the oath of fidelity to him, to be leill, true and obedient unto the king's majesty, and his defence of the commonweal, and ministration of justice enduring the king's minority. And likewise the duke of Albany made his oath unto them, in presence of the whole parliament, that he should be true to God and to the king, and to them, to minister justice equally, both to great and small, without exception of persons; and to defend their commonweal and liberty so far as lay in his power.

This being done, the whole lords and commons were glad at the duke of Albany's presence, because they had so long wanted a head to govern them; thinking that there would be no strife nor debate in the country unpunished, but they would know to whom to complain, when theft, reiff and slaughter were committed in the country.

Then prior JOHN HERBURN of St. Andrews clamb next the governor, and grew great in the court, and remembred of old malice and envy betwixt him and the Humes; and also of the bishop ANDREW FORMAN, and shewed the duke, who was then governor, of all the secrets and demerits of the lord Hume, and his father, and his brother, from the field of Bannockburn to the field of Floudon; and specially how the lord Hume and his father had used themselves toward the duke's father and his brother in their banishment, with all secrets and in-

vention that he could invent contrary the lord Hume and his brother, to cause the duke of Albany look down upon them: And also shewing how bishop FORMAN had gathered all the substance of Scotland into his hand, by his legateship; and caused the duke to thrav with him, till he gave over certain benefices to the duke, to give unto his friends, and specially the bishoprick of Murray, and abbayship of Scoon; which he gave to his brother bishop ALEXANDER, who enjoyed and bruiked the same long time thereafter; and abbacy of Melrose to bishop JAMES BEATON, with many other benefices, by many others he gave to the duke to win his favour.

In this mean time the governor past through the country, to danton all theft, reiff and slaughter committed before in the king's young age. But when he came to Kelfo, Jedburgh and Melrose, and there heard the complaint of the people, and the complaints made upon the earl of Angus, the lord Hume, and other great men, who had oppressed the country in time when there was no justice ministrated, for inlack of a head to plaint to: The governor, hearing thir great complaints, was very sorrowful in his heart, setting his whole intent to remeid the same. Howbeit, the great lords could not be content therewith; yet he passed forward to Dumfries, and to the town of Air, and parts of the West-land, and heard of the cruel slaughter betwixt the lord Montgomery, the lord Kilmaurs, and the lord Semple. And, finally, passed to the north of Scotland, and heard the complaints there, in like manner; and syne came again to Edinburgh, and there advised with his council, what was best to be done in this matter, and how he might punish most quietly thir injuries done by thir lords, which he thought was overmuch to take in hand to punish them openly. But if he had been more powerful than he was, considering himself to be a stranger, and not knowing the nature and quality of them, and how the Scottish-men cannot abide to be extremely used by justice nor punishment, nor yet can suffer

suffer their neighbours to live in peace and rest beside them : Therefore he concluded with himself, that he would continue the pursuit of justice on them, till he thought better time. And incontinent sent to the king of France, shewing him the manner how Scottish-men were all allied with other ; so that every man took part with other against him ; that they thought him but a stranger, and would not be content that he used justice upon them ; nor he would not attempt the same without that he had more power : Therefore beseeeking his grace to support him with men, money and munition, according to his grace's honour, and welfare of Scotland ; who was well content hereof, and supported accordingly to his desire, both with men, munition and money ; and sent him three ships therewith, which landed at the west sea.

The lords hearing that the governor was determinate to punish their oppression and wickedness, so soon as he thought time convenient, they knowing that he had support come out of France : To that effect they laid their heads together, and convened a council at Glasgow, where many of the lords assembled, to the number of twelve thousand men ; to wit, the earl of Angus, the lord Hume, the earl of Arran, with the whole lords of the west land, and some of the north land. There were no west land men away, except the earl of Lenox and lord Erskine, who then remained with the king at Stirling.

The lords being convened in Glasgow, heard tell that there were three French ships landed at the west sea, with men, money and artillery, come to the duke of Albany : therefore they sent a thousand men to the said ships, for to stop their landing ; but they were landed and away ere they came ; but yet they got some of their carts with powder and bullet, and brought them to Glasgow ; and, for despite, cast them in a great draw-well in Glasgow.

Thir tidings came to the governor, that the lords had risen against him, and had destroyed his powder and bullets; he was heavily commoved at the same, and vowed singularly to God, he should be revenged on their contemption done to him, or, at the least, them that were the occasion of the same; and passed hastily forward to Glasgow, intending to cause them leave the town, or to fight with them and put them out of Glasgow, or then to die in that quarrel.

But bishop ANDREW FORMAN, seeing the prince minded in this manner, either to fight with them, or put them out of Glasgow, or else to die in that quarrel, spurred hastily to Glasgow, to see if he might dress the lords to obey their magistrate as they ought; and began to reason them in this manner, as after follows, saying, 'My lords, I marvel
' of your inconstancy towards your prince and go-
' vernor. Why have ye risen so against him, and
' have destroyed his powder and bullet? And, in
' plain contemption, shewing yourselves so rebellious
' against him, that he, on no ways, can be content
' without obedience and amendment in time coming.' To this the lords answered, saying, 'He is not our
' governor, nor we know not whereof he is come;
' whether he be a French-man's son, or a Scottish-
' man's son; or if he have right to our authority,
' or not.' To this answered bishop ANDREW FOR-
MAN, saying, 'My lords, I marvel much of your
' wildoms, that would not consider that cause at
' the first time, when ye sent for him to France by
' your hand-writs and commission; and syne receiv-
' ed him in Scotland thankfully, and, in plain par-
' liament, chused and admitted him to be your go-
' vernor, and gave your oaths of fidelity to him, to
' maintain him to execute justice according to the
' whole law of your realm. And now ye have risen
' against him, without any cause or motion made
' in his part to you: Therefore I counsel you to
' leave such things in time coming, and to obey
' your prince, as ye ought to do in all affairs need-
' ful

ful, according to reason and justice, for the welfare of the commonweal, and of the country; and to leave the town at this time, and give the prince that obedience, that he may repose him a little here, as ye have done; and if ye would be wilful, and not consent to the same, he will either have it, or fight with you, though ye were ten times more than he; for he cares you not in his just quarrel.

The lords, hearing the words of bishop ANDREW FORMAN, consulted together, and promised to leave the town at the governor's coming, upon their conditions following: That is to say, that the governor's grace shall remit all things bygone, and receive them, in time coming, as good subjects unto the king's grace and him, and never to call them for nothing bypast. The which the bishop promised, in the governor's name, that it should be kept unto them. Then they left the town, and passed, that the governor might have free entrance thereunto; who lodged there that night; and, on the morn, passed to Stirling, and visited the king's grace; syne went to Edinburgh, and there remained till all the lords came and made their obedience, and got a remission for all things bygone. But yet the governor remembered of them, that were the occasion of this rebellion, to be satisfied of them.

In this mean time, the earl of Angus was stolen quietly out of his lodging, and had to the ships, and convoyed quietly to France, and remained a season without company of any Scottish-man, or scanty any knowing what part of the world he was in.

In this mean time the governor called a convention at Edinburgh, to compear for affairs of England; and specially, he wrote for the lord Hume, and Mr WILLIAM his brother, because they knew the affairs of England best, and such matters as were to do at that time. The whole lords compeared at the day appointed; and specially, among

the rest, the lord Hume came to Edinburgh, and his brother, who would not enter in the Abbey among the rest; while, on the morn, that his brother was caused, by the duke of Albany, to send a token for him to come to the council, because he knew the proceedings of England and affairs best of any man: Therefore the duke of Albany alleged, that he would send him as embassador to England at that time; which moved the lord Hume to send a token to his brother, a ring off his finger, which was a sign betwixt them, and caused the said Mr WILLIAM to come incontinent to the Abbey to the council, where the governor and the lords were for the time.

As soon as the said Mr WILLIAM was entered into the Abbey-gates, the said gates were closed, and the French-men past to their harness, and laid hands on the lord Hume and his brother, and put them in prison, to wit, they put the said Mr WILLIAM to the ships, and put him in the castle of Inch-Garvie, and kept the lord Hume still in the Abbey, till they summoned an assize, and convicted them of treason; and thereafter strake the heads from them.

This novels came to France to the earl of Angus, that the lord Hume and his brother were forfait and headed. Of this novels the earl of Angus was nothing content, thinking himself in no less danger than the lord Hume, or his brother, considering that he was participant in siklike crimes of lese-majesty, as they were: Therefore he convoyed himself quietly out of France to England, where he was well received and treated for the queen of Scotland's cause, because he was her husband.

Short while hereafter the queen of Scotland got word that her husband, the earl of Angus, was come to England, and past all danger of France, she was very glad and rejoiced; for she was great with child to him, almost at her deliverance; yet, notwithstanding, for love she bore to her husband, and desire to speak with the king of England her brother, she setting

ting all danger and peril aside, left her young son, the king's grace of Scotland, in the castle of Stirling, in keeping of the captain, and his guard about him, and took her voyage, and past in England, to London, to king HARRY her brother, where she was honourably received, and tenderly treated, and remained there at her pleasure, and got all things at her brother king HARRY, that she would desire. But, short time after she came there, she was delivered of a daughter, named lady MARGARET, who remained still there to this day, well entertained, intending to the crown by her or her succession.

And this done, queen MARGARET returned to Scotland, with her husband the earl of Angus, with great supplications from king HARRY to the duke of Albany, to receive her husband, the earl of Angus, in good thanks, and all faults bygone to be remitted. Of the which the duke of Albany, hearing the request of king HARRY, was very glad, and accepted and granted all things that the queen would desire in the king HARRY's name; and specially for receipt and entertainment of her husband; which the governor was well content, and took the earl of Angus's oath of fidelity, that he should be just and true unto the king's majesty, and the governor's grace induring the king's minority.

This being done, the realm stood in great tranquillity and peace, and the nobles obeyed their prince, as they ought to do, in all civil matters and honest; and therethrough the commonweal flourished a long while: Till, at the last, the king of France sent letters in Scotland to the duke of Albany, to come and speak with him in all goodly haste, for such affairs as he had ado at that time. The duke of Albany, obedient unto the king of France's desire, put the realm in order, and left Monsieur Delabatie regent in his place, to his returning out of France; and gave him command to use all men equally; and, in the mean time, went to his ships, and past to France.

In this mean time, Delabatie being regent, as we have shewn, remained in the Abbey of Holyrood-house.

house, and a guard of French-men about him, to the number of fourscore of hagbitters, to be ready at his command when he charged. And so it happened at this time, on the month of and in the year of God one thousand five hundred and

there was a gentleman in Edinburgh, named WILLIAM MELDRUM laird of Binns, who had, in company with him, a fair lady, called the lady Gleneagies, who was daughter to Mr RICHARD LAWSON of Humby, provost of Edinburgh; the which lady had born to this laird two bairns, and intended to marry her, if he might have had the pope's licence, because her husband before and he were sib: Yet, notwithstanding, a gentleman, called LUKE STIRLING, envied this love and marriage betwixt thir two persons, thinking to have the gentlewoman to himself in marriage; because he knew the laird might not have the pope's licence by the laws; therefore he solisted his brother's son, the laird of Keir, with a certain company of armed men, to set upon the laird of Binns, to take this lady from him by way of deed; and, to that effect, followed him betwixt Leith and Edinburgh, and set on him beneath the Rood-chapel, with fifty armed men; and he again defended him with five in number, and fought cruelly with them, and slew the laird of Keir's principal servant before his face, defending himself; and hurt the laird, that he was in peril of his life, and twenty-six of his men hurt and slain; yet, through multiplication of his enemies, he was overset and driven to the earth, and left lying for dead, hought of his legs, and stricken through the body, and the knops of his elbows stricken from him. Yet, by the mighty power of God, he escaped the death, and all his men that were with him, and lived fifty years thereafter.

In the mean-time word came to Monsieur Delabatie, where he was at that time, in the Abbey of Holy-rood-house, that such a nobleman was slain and murdered at his hand. And he incontinently gave strike an alarm, and blew his trumpets, and rang the common bell, commanding all men to follow him, both.

both on foot and horse, that he might revenge the said slaughter; and rushed fiercely forward to the place where the battle was stricken, and saw this nobleman lying deadly wounded, and his men about him in this same manner; and past fiercely after the enemies, and committers of the said crime, and overhied them at Linlithgow; where they took the peel upon their heads to be their safeguard, thinking to defend themselves therein; notwithstanding, this noble regent lap manfully about the house, and sieged it continually, till they rendered the same to come in his will; who took them and brought them to Edinburgh, and gave them a fair affize; who were all convicted and condemned of the said crime; and thereafter were put in the castle of Edinburgh, in sure keeping, induring the regent's will. And syne, a little thereafter, the regent passed to the Morfe, to the town of Dunfe, to hold a justice-court, who was convoyed by the lairds of Cesfoord and Pharnieft, giving him to understand, that they should bring him safely through the country unto Edinburgh again.

Nevertheless, the laird of Wedderburn and his complices envied Monsieur Delubatie, for the duke of Albany's cause, seeing he was left in his place, and was but a stranger, he thought he would be revenged on him; and so chapped him by the host a little, and, at an out-side, watched him; so that he took fear, and spurred his horse, and took the flight, and fled toward the castle of Dumbar, thinking to win the same, because his horse was good. Notwithstanding, all was for nought; he, being a stranger, and knew not the gate, ran his horse into a flow-moss, where he could not get out till his enemies came upon him, and there murdered him, and cut off his head, and took it with them: And, because his hair was long, like womens, and plat on a head-lace, David Hume of Wedderburn knit it on his saddle-bow.

Syne after thir novels came to France to the duke of Albany, who was not content with the same; but passed

passed to the king of France, and shewed him what estate the realm of Scotland stood in at that time, and how they could not be content with no civil man to be their governor nor head, nor no man to minister justice unto them. Further, he shewed him the slaughter of Delabatie, and how he was displeased thereat. But the king of France answered and said, 'My lord, you did evil that would not make a Scottish-man governor in your absence; for I wist well they would envy a French-man for your sake; yet, notwithstanding, take a good heart, I shall support and maintain you, to revenge the matter, as ye will desire at my hand.'

Thir good words of comfort of the king of France mitigated and assuaged the duke of Albany's anger at that time. Syne he took counsel of his friends and wise captains, what was best to be done in revenging of the cause foresaid; who gave him counsel to seek support of the king of France, and to pass hastily in Scotland, for revenging of the said slaughter; fearing, if he tarried any longer, he should have more ado, and more enemies against him in the realm of Scotland.

To this counsel the duke of Albany consented, and passed to the king of France, and asked supply of him to pass to Scotland, for such causes as he had shewn his grace. The king of France was well content of his charge, and gart furnish unto him three great ships, and three thousand men of war, for year and day, together with munition, powder, bullets, as the said duke would devise; and gart furnish six ships, of the best he had, to bring him through the sea safely to Scotland.

When this was done, the duke of Albany took his leave of the king of France, and passed to the sea, and came to Scotland: And, after he had landed in Scotland, made hasty persecution on the Humes, and specially on the laird of Wedderburn, who was principal slayer of Delabatie: But yet, on no ways, he could apprehend him; for he fled in England, and remained there so long as the duke abode in Scotland;

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yet the duke passed through Scotland, and ministrated justice according to his duty: And specially, he raised a great army in the time of winter, and passed to the west borders, called Solway-sands, and there was advised to have sieged Carlisle: But the lord Dacres and he appointed on all debates and redress in the borders, that he so continued the siege, and passed home; and thereafter, the first next year, passed to Wark, and sieged it: But the borderers deceived him, and caused his captains of war to be hanged over the walls, when they had brushed and won the house; the Englishmen, seeing no Scottishman backing them, incontinent dang them forth of the castle, and hanged their captains: And the duke seeing he was deceived by the borderers, and them that he gave credit to, for to have rescued his men and backed them, he took an anger, and took up his camp, and came to his own castle to Dumbar, and there remained a while, and gart craftsmen and masons fall to work, and big in the same a great storehouse and inch, called the Outward Block house; and garnished it with artillery, powder and bullets.

In this mean time, the master of Hailes, and the laird of Nisbet, called Chirnside, and one Heatly, through counsel of the Hepburns, cruelly murdered a young innocent man, prior of Coldingham, thinking to do the duke a pleasure, to be a revenge of the slaughter of Delabatie.

In this year departed bishop FORMAN, who was bishop of St. Andrews, and legate of Scotland. But prior JOHN HEPBURN, and his friends, caused take the castle of St. Andrews, and keep it, because he was vicar-general for the time: But bishop JAMES BEATON hastily obtained the same by way of court, and agreed with prior JOHN HEPBURN for his vicarship and generalship, and satisfaction of all other things pertaining to his office.

In this mean time the king came to the age of eleven years; and the duke of Albany seeing the realm of Scotland, and the nobles thereof, of such qualities and

and conditions, that few or none of them might give credit to other : Therefore he was advised utterly to leave them, and pass in France again to live there ; and therefore he furnished Dumbar with men and victuals, and made a Frenchman captain of it, named captain Morice ; and thereafter stablished the realm, in manner as after followeth ; that is to say, he made the earl of Lenox, and bishop JAMES BEATON, and a Frenchman called Monsieur LUSENCE regents, till the king was twelve years of age ; for he knew then the lords would chuse new governors among themselves. And the duke of Albany took his leave at the king and council, and passed in France. So all the time that the duke was in Scotland, first and last, was five years and a half.

Then, when the duke was departed, there arose great trouble and deadly feuds in many parts of Scotland, both in the north and west parts. The master of Forbes, in the north, slew the laird of Meldrum under tryft. Likewise, the laird of Drumelzier slew the lord Fleming at the hawking. And likewise there was slaughter among many other great lords ; that is to say, betwixt the lord of Kilmaurs and the master of Semple.

This cumber drew over, till the king was twelve years of age ; and then the whole lords of Scotland laid their heads together, and thought that they would bring the king to the fields, and put the whole government into his own hands. Notwithstanding, the king, hearing word of this pre-eminence, was gladly content to leave correction at the schools, and pass with his lords at liberty, where he pleased. The lords horsed the king, and gart prepare for him all manner of riding gear pertaining to a prince ; and syne took him forth of the castle of Stirling, and brought him to the Abbey of Holy-rood-house ; and there took up house with all manner of office-men that were necessary to be had for him, and discharged all his old officers, and put new in their steads ; that is to say, treasurer, comptroller, secretary, Mr mace, Mr household, capper, carver, Mr stabler, Mr hunter,

hunter, Mr falconer, Mr porter, and a fool called JOHN MACKILRIE. Further, there were four lords, Angus, Argyle, St. Andrews, Lenox, chosen to be tutors and governors to the king, that all casualties and benefices should be disposed by them; and that they should remain still with the king, and give him their council in all things pertaining to his honour, and the well of his country.

The king and the lords remained in Edinburgh, at Holy-rood-house, the space of a year, with great cheer, triumph and merriness; till, at the last, there vaked some benefice, which put them all at discord for disposition of the same; for every lord thought he would be served according to his room and estate; but the earl of Angus warred the other three: For, when he had gotten Dunkeld, he would have had Coldingham; and could not be staid so; but, when Holy-rood-house vaked, he would have had it also; and shewed the lords, he was scant of hay and horse-corn, when he came to the town; Therefore he behoved to have that benefice, with the lave, to find his horse meat. And the lave of the lords considering the earl of Angus's greediness, that he would not be content without that he had all at his disposition, and considered nothing of their expences in the king's service that they had made, as well as he: And the earl of Lenox got nothing; wherefore he tyred of the court, and passed home to his own country: And so did the earl of Arran, and passed to Hamilton to his own place. But bishop JAMES BEATON remained still in Edinburgh, in his own lodging, that he bigged in the Frier-wynd; for he might not pass out of the town, for he was chancellor for the time, and sat on the seat to use justice; and came never toward the court nor the king, but as he was sent for: Thus the earl of Angus guided all the whole king and court as he pleased; and made his came, ARCHIBALD DOUGLAS, treasurer of Scotland; and GEORGE his brother, Mr household to the king; and himself lieutenant to the king through all Scotland. But yet the queen's grace tyred of him, and parted

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with him; and, a little after, married HARRY STUART, brother to my lord of Evandale; and thereafter she made the said HARRY lord of Methven.

Notwithstanding, my lord of Angus took little fuffe at the same, but guided and ruled the king as he pleased, and caused him to ride through all Scotland, under the pretence and colour of justice, to punish thief and traitor; but none were found greater than were in their own company. Further, he caused strike a groat of eighteen pennies, which afterward was called the Douglas Groat. And none, at that time, durst strive with a Douglas, nor yet a Douglas's man; for if they would, they got the worse: Therefore none durst plainzie of no extortion, theft, reiff nor slaughter done to them by the Douglasses or their men; in that cause they were not heard, so long as the Douglas had the court in guiding. This till they continued a while, so long as fortune bore them favour.

In the mean time, a cunning clerk called Mr PATRICK HAMILTON, abbot of Fern, and brother-german to the sheriff of Linlithgow, who was summoned and called before the principal council, holden at St. Andrews for the time by bishop JAMES BEATON, with the rest of many of the clergy of Scotland; and there he was accused for heresy before the said bishops, abbots, priors, and doctors of theology, Grey-friers and Black. His accuser was a black-frier, called ALEXANDER CAMPBELL, who read his articles, and said to him, ' Heretick, thou said, it was leifome to
' all men to read the word of God, and, in special,
' the New Testament.' Mr PATRICK answered,
' I wot not if I said so; but I say it is reason, and
' leifome to all men that have a soul, to read the
' word of God, and that they may understand the
' same; and, in special, the latter-will and testament
' of Christ Jesus, whereby they may acknowledge
' their own sins, and repent of the same, and may a-
' mend their lives by faith and repentance, and come
' to the mercy of God by Christ Jesus.' ' Now, he-
' retick, I see thou affirms the words of thy accusa-
' tion.'

'tion.' Mr PATRICK answered, 'I affirm nothing
 'but the word which I have spoken in presence of
 'this auditory.' 'Now further, thou says, it was
 'not leifome to worship imagery.' Mr PATRICK
 answered, 'I say not further, but that God spake to
 'Moses, in the twentieth chapter of Exodus, in the
 'second commandment, Thou shalt not make any
 'graven image, thou shalt not bow down to them,
 'nor worship them. And also David, in his Psalms,
 'curseth them that are the makers of images, and
 'the outsetters, - maintainers and worshippers of the
 'same.' Then answered the accuser, 'Heretick,
 'knows thou not imagery is the books of the laick
 'and common people, to put them in remembrance
 'of the holy saints that wrought for their salvation?'
 Then answered Mr PATRICK, 'Brother, it ought to
 'be preaching of the true word of God, that should
 'put the people in remembrance of the blood of
 'Christ, and their salvation.' Then says the accu-
 ser, 'Heretick, thou says it is but lost labour to
 'pray or to call upon saints that wrought for their
 'salvation; and, in special, to the Blessed Virgin
 'Mary, or John, James, Peter or Paul, as mediators
 'to God for us.' Mr PATRICK answered, 'I say,
 'with Paul, there is no mediator betwixt God and
 'man, but Christ Jesus his son: and whatsoever
 'they be, that call or pray to any saint departed,
 'they spoil Christ Jesus of his office.' The accuser
 says, 'Heretick, thou says, it is all in vain our la-
 'bours made for them that are departed, when we
 'sing soul-mass, psalms and diriges, which is the
 'relaxation of the souls that are departed, who are
 'contained in the pains of Purgatory.' Mr PATRICK
 answered, 'Brother, I read never in the scripture of
 'God, of such a place as Purgatory, nor yet believe
 'that there is any thing that may purge the souls of
 'men, but the blood of Christ Jesus; which ransom
 'standeth in no earthly thing, nor in soul-mass, nor
 'dirigy, nor in gold, nor silver, but only by repen-
 'tance of sins, and faith in the blood of Christ Jesus.'
 The accuser answered, 'My lord, you hear he de-

nies the institution of holy kirk, and the authority of our holy father the pope. I need not to accuse him no more.'

The bishops and the lords of religion laid their heads together, and gave sentence against this innocent man, and condemned him to the death; and syne brought him forth of the Abbey-kirk of St. Andrews, and forenent the old college, called Salvator's college, where was a great fire, and a stake, and a scaffold made, whereon they put this innocent man, in presence of all the people; and syne required of him, if he would recant the words and confession that he made in the Abbey-kirk, and he should burn his faggot, and his life should be safe. Mr PATRICK answered, 'As to my confession, I will not deny it for the awe of your fire; for my confession and belief is in Christ Jesus: Therefore I will not deny it. And I will rather be content, that my body burn in this fire, for confession of my faith in Christ, than my soul should burn in the fire of hell, for denying the same. But, as to the sentence and judgment pronounced against me this day, by the bishops and doctors, I here, in presence of you all, appeal contrary the said sentences and judgment given against me, and take me to the mercy of God; and summon you, Sir Frier, before the tribunal seat of God and Christ Jesus his son, that ye there compear within the space of forty days, to answer before that judge, for your wrongous accusation contrary to your conscience.' By this Mr PATRICK left off his speaking, and entered in contemplation and prayer to Almighty God to be merciful to the people who persecuted him; for there were many of them blinded in ignorance, that they knew not what they did. And also besought Christ Jesus to be Mediator for him unto the Father; and that he would strengthen him with his holy spirit, that he might stedfastly abide the cruel pains and flames of fire prepared for him by that cruel people. And that the pains of that torment were not the occasion to cause him swerve or shrink from any point of his

his faith in Christ Jesus, but to strengthen and augment him in his spirit, and knowledge in the promise of God, and to receive his soul in his hands, for Christ Jesus sake; and, in his name, he made this oblation and offering, that is to say, his body in the fire, and his soul in the hands of Almighty God; and so made an end of his speaking. Then they laid to the fire to him; but it would no ways burn nor kindle a long while. Then a baxter, called Myrtoun, ran and brought his arms full of straw, and cast it in to kindle the fire: But there came such a blast of wind from the east, forth of the sea, and raised the flame of fire so vehemently, that it blew upon the frier that accused him, that it dang him to the earth, and burnt all the fore part of his coull; and put him in such a fray, that he came never to his right spirits again, but wandered about the space of forty days, and then departed. This cruel act of persecution was used against this godly man, at St. Andrews, in the year one thousand five hundred and twenty-five, in the month of September.

About this time the king went to the south-land to the airs, and held justice in Jedburgh; where there came many complaints to the king, of reiff, slaughter and oppression; but little justice was used but by the purse: For there were many that were of the earl of Angus's kin, friends and servants, that got justice by favour. Of the which the king was nothing content, nor none of the lave of the lords that were about him; for they would have had justice equally used to all men without partiality, or exception of persons. But, notwithstanding, the earl of Angus and the rest of the Douglasses ruled all which they liked; and no man durst say the contrary: Wherefore the king was heavily displeased, and would fain have been out of their hands, if he might by any way: And, to that effect, wrote a quiet and secret writing with his own hand, and sent it to the laird of Buccleugh, beseeching him, that he would come with his kin and friends, and all the force that he might be, and meet him at Melrose at his home-passing: and there to

take him out of the Douglasses hands, and to put him to liberty, to use himself among the lave of his lords, as he thinks expedient.

This writing was quietly directed, and sent by one of the king's own secret servants, which was received very thankfully by the laird of Buccleugh, and was very glad thereof, to be put to such charges and familiarity with his prince; and did great diligence to perform the king's writing, and to bring the matter to pass as the king desired: And to that effect, convened all his kin and friends, and all that would do for him, to ride with him to Melrose, when he knew of the king's home-coming. And so he brought in company with him, six hundred spears of Liddisdale and Anandale, and country-men and clans thereabout, and held themselves quiet while that the king returned out of Jedburgh, and came to Melrose, and to remain there all that night.

But when the lord Hume, Cesfoord, and Farnherst, took their leave from the king, and returned home, then appeared the laird of Buccleugh in sight, and his company with him, in an arrayed battle, intending to have fulfilled the king's petition; and therefore came stoutly forward in the back-side of Halidenhill. By that the earl of Angus, and GEORGE DOUGLAS his brother, with sundry other of his friends, seeing this army coming, they marvelled what the matter meant; while, at the last, they knew the laird of Buccleugh, with a certain company of the thieves of Anandale with him, they were the less afear'd, and made them manfully to the field contrary them; and said to the king, on this manner, 'Sir, yon is Buccleugh and thieves of Anandale with him, to unsettle your grace from the gate. I avow to God they shall either fight or flee; and ye shall tarry here on this know, and my brother GEORGE with you, with any other company you please; and I shall pass and put yon thieves off the ground, and red the gate unto your grace, or else die for it.' The king tarried still

still as was devised, and GEORGE DOUGLAS with him, with sundry other lords, such as the earl of Lenox, and the lord Erskine, and some of the king's own servants; but all the lave past with the earl of Angus to the field against the laird of Buccleugh, who joined and countered cruelly, both the said parties, in the field of Darnelinvir, either against other, with uncertan victory: But, at last, the lord Hume, hearing word of that matter how it stood, returned again to the king in all possible haste; with him the laird of Cesfoord and Farniherst, to the number of fourscore spears, and set on freshly on the lap and wing of the laird of Buccleugh's field, and shortly bore them backward to the ground; which caused the laird of Buccleugh and the rest of his friends to go back and flee; whom they followed and chased, especially the laird of Farniherst and Cesfoord followed so furiously, while at the foot of a path, the laird of Cesfoord was slain by the stroke of a spear, by an Eliot, who was then servant to the laird of Buccleugh: But when the laird of Cesfoord was slain, the chase ceased. But the earl of Angus returned again with great merriness and victory, and thanked God that he saved him from that chance; and passed with the king to Melrose, where they remained all that night; while on the morn, they passed to Edinburgh with the king, who was very sad and dolorous of the slaughter of the laird of Cesfoord, and many other gentlemen and yeomen slain by the laird of Buccleugh, containing the number of fourscore and fourteen, which died in defence of the king, and at the command of his writing. Howbeit, it was not known to every man, which caused the king to be so heavily sad and dolorous; thinking that, on no ways, he could be quit of the earl of Angus and his friends: Therefore he cast his ingine to seek remedy hereunto; and sent for bishop JAMES BEATON to have his counsel how he might be best quit of the earl of Angus, and the rest of his kin and friends.

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This bishop, being a wise man, gave the king counsel to send for the earl of Lenox, to see his mind thereunto, because he was nearest of kin to the king, and of his surname: Therefore he was the meekest and habilest of any man for to deliver the king unto his liberty.

The king, hearing of thir words, sent for the earl of Lenox, and spake with him, and gave him his commission to raise his lieges as he pleased; to that effect, that he should come to Edinburgh, with all the power that he might be, and to take the king out of the Douglasses hands by force.

The earl of Lenox, hearing this charge and commission of the king, was well content: And, to that effect, gathered all that he might be, in Fife, Angus, Strathern, Stirling-shire, and all the whole west-land, and came to Stirling with the number of ten thousand men; where bishop JAMES BEATON met him, with all the gentlemen in Fife, and there accompanied with him to the effect foresaid; and also the master of Kilmaurs came to him out of the west, Kyle, Carick and Cunningham, which were in number two thousand men, and took his vanguard in hand, to come forward to the towne of Edinburgh: But the earl of Angus, knowing this noble man the earl of Lenox gathering against him, with bishop JAMES BEATON, and the master of Kilmaurs; and hearing that they were so great of number, knew well it was not without the king's advice; whereat he was greatly astonished: Yet, notwithstanding, he took such courage and hardiment, that he knew well there was no remedy, but either to do or die; and sent incontinent to all his friends, and in special to the lord Hume and Farnherst, and the laird of Cesfoord. Also he sent to the lord Hamilton, shewing him the earl of Lenox was coming with an army to take the king from him; beseeeking him that he would concur with him, and support him in that cause, which was for his own well, saying, That, if the earl of Lenox overcame him, that the next day he would do siklike with him:

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'Therefore it were best to debate with both their powers and strengths in time.' Of this desire the lord Hamilton was well content, and promised to meet the earl of Angus, with all his kin and friends at Linlithgow.

But, on the morn afterhend, the earl of Lenox came out of Stirling with three great hosts, marching forward to Edinburgh to set forward his purpose and intent, which he had taken in hand at the king's command. Incontinent the earl of Angus was advertised of their coming, and shewed the king the manner how it stood, desiring his grace to make proclamations, both in Leith and Edinburgh, that all manner of men, betwixt sixty and sixteen, should rise incontinent, and follow the king, and debate his grace.

The king hearing thir words of the earl of Angus, and knowing how the matter stood, gave but little answer to the earl of Angus. The earl, seeing that the king was slow in the matter, wist well there was nothing but either to do or die: And therefore made him manfully to the fields; and caused his friend ARCHIBALD DOUGLAS, provost of Edinburgh, to ring the common bell, and put the town in order, and commanded them to rise and come with the king in all haste, to defend him against his enemies; and left his brother with the king, to cause him rise and to come forward for to support him, for he would pass forward incontinent to meet the lord Hamilton, who was above Linlithgow in readiness, with the number of two thousand men; and the earl of Angus past forward himself, with the Humes and Kers, which were in number two thousand.

By this the word came to the town of Edinburgh, that the earl of Lenox was within a mile of Linlithgow, with three great hosts, to the number of twelve thousand men, well furnished with artillery, and was purposed to come to Edinburgh, if he were not stoppt. Then GEORGE DOUGLAS, hearing this, desired the king to rise and pass forward, and help
his

his brother, to support him against his enemies, shewing him how nearhand they were. But the king's grace took little thought of the matter, and was slow in his out-riding. But, at last, the post came from the earl of Angus, shewing the king, that both the armies were in sight of other, and were purposed to fight: Therefore prayed the king's grace to come forward, with the town of Edinburgh, to rescue the earl of Angus, or else he would be lost, by reason of the number of the other party.

Then the king caused blow his trumpets, and lap on horse, and gart ring the common bell of Edinburgh, commanding all manner of men to follow him. So he rushed out of the west-port, and all the town of Edinburgh and Leith with him, to the number of three thousand men, and rode forward; but, ere they came to Corsforth, they heard the artillery shoot on both sides, like as it had been thunder. Then GEORGE DOUGLAS cried on the king, beseeching his grace, for God's sake to ride faster, that he might rescue and help his brother.

By this the post came, and shewed the king, that both the fields were joined, and foughten furiously with others, on the west-side of Linslithgow, two miles west the town; and that the earl of Angus and the earl of Glencairn were yoked together; and the lord Hamilton's force and the earl of Lenox were yoked in like manner, and both fighting furiously. Then the king rode fast to see the manner: But incontinent there met him a post, shewing him, that the earl of Lenox's men were fled from him; and he believed that he had tint the field.

But then the king was very sorry, and cried on all his servants, and all that would do for him, to ride to the field and stench slaughter; and in special, to save the earl of Lenox, if he could apprehend him alive. With this the king's servants, and sundry gentlemen, passed, at the king's command, with ANDREW WOOD of Largo, which was one of the king's familiar servants, and carver to him, at that time; and

and halted their horse, as fast they might bear them, to the field, to keep the king's command, to save all from slaughter; and, in special, the earl of Lenox, whom they found lying slain, in the dead-throw, cruelly, by Sir JAMES HAMILTON, that tyrant, after that he was taken in the field by the laird of Pardovan, and his weapons taken from him: In this mean time, Sir JAMES HAMILTON, that cruel murderer, gart shut him from the takers, and slew him without mercy; and so did he all that he might overtake that day in the field. There were many marked that day with this murderer; some in the chafts with his sword, and some otherwise.

But we will return to Sir ANDREW WOOD and the king's servants, who rode swiftly through the fields, to save all friends that they might keep on life; and, at last, they found the earl of Glencairn still fighting, and not thirty men left of all his army on life, unslain, and fled from him: But yet he was in such a strength, that his enemies might no-wise war him, so long as he had any men left on life to defend him. But immediately Sir ANDREW WOOD, the king's servant, took him, and saved him, and brought him away, and convoyed him to a quiet place, where neither the Douglasses nor the Hamiltons might get him to do him skaith.

This being done, the king's servants came through the field, and saw the lord Hamilton standing mourning beside the earl of Lenox, saying, 'The wisest man, the stoutest man, the hardiest man, that ever was born in Scotland, was slain that day;' and his cloke of scarlet cast upon him, and gart watchmen stand about him, till the king's servants came and buried him. This matter being ended, and many slain and taken on both the sides; and, in special, the earl of Lenox, with many gentlemen of the west-land with him; and likewise the earl of Glencairn evil wounded to the dead, and many of his friends and servants slain, and also some gentlemen of Fife both taken and slain. This cruel unhappy field was stricken in the year

year of God one thousand five hundred and twenty-six, and in the month of September.

Then the earl of Angus returned to the king with glory and victory, well commended of all men for the chance and victory that fell unto him. Then the king with the earl of Angus, the lord Hamilton, with the Humes and Kers, went all that night to Linlithgow, and remained there in great merriness: But the king was very sad and dolorous for the tinsel of his came the earl of Lenox, and many other gentlemen with him, who perished by the king's occasion; for they enterprised the matter at the king's command. And further, the king was very afraid, and despaired of his own life; because he knew well the earl of Angus understood that he gart enterprize such acts against him; and nothing prospered well with the king against the said earl: Therefore he was afraid they would put hand in his own body, considering all things succeeded so well with him: But yet I can never find, that ever the earl of Angus, or the Douglasses, or none of the Douglasses, failed to the king in any part, though they were covetous, greedy, and oppressors of their neighbours; yet they were ever true, kind, and serviceable to the king in all his affairs; and oft-times offered their bodies in jeopardy for his sake.

This being done, the king returned to Edinburgh very sad and sorrowful, that he, on no ways could come to his purpose; but yet he remained quiet within himself. And the Douglasses took over-high upon them; wherefore they began to punish all them that came against them with the earl of Lenox; and specially, they fled bishop JAMES BEATON so, that he stole away and durst not a long time be seen; and so did MARGARET queen of Scotland, and gaide vagabond a long while disguised, for fear of the Douglasses.

Then the Douglasses had the king to Fife, and past their time a while in St. Andrews; but they could not find the bishop, for he was keeping sheep in Bagrion-new, with shepherds clothes upon him, like

like as he had been a shepherd himself. By this way he escaped their fury a while : But GEORGE DOUGLAS was very wise, and knew the bishop of St. Andrews to be a great man, and had many casualties of tacks and tithes to be gotten at his hand : Therefore, within a little while, he agreed the said bishop and his brother, for certain tithes and tacks that the bishop gave him, with other commodities that he got at the bishop's hand, which needs not to be rehearsed at this time ; but always he was restored to the court and their favours again ; and so was the queen's grace a little thereafter, that no man pursued her, but luit her take her own pleasure, because she was the king's mother.

At this time the Douglasses put sore at the lord Lindsay, and thought to have forfaited him : But he gave largely of his lands to the courtiers, to escape that envy for the present time, thinking that court would not last long. Further, bishop JAMES BEATON called the Douglasses and the king to the Pasch in St. Andrews, and there made them great chear and merriness, and gave them great gifts of gold and silver, with fair hackneys, and other gifts of tacks and feedings that they would desire of him, that he might pacify their wraths therewith, and obtain their favours. So the king tarried there a while quiet, and used hawking and hunting upon the water of Edin ; till, at the last, the earl of Angus wearied in Fife ; and therefore he asked leave of the king to pass to Lothian to see his business ; and left with the king ARCHIBALD his father's brother, and GEORGE his own brother, and JAMES DOUGLAS of Parkhead, who was captain to a guard of men that was about the king. But, within two days, ARCHIBALD DOUGLAS treasurer asked leave of the king to pass to Dundee, and do his business there for one day or two, (some say he had a gentlewoman there whom he rode to visit) and, in like manner, GEORGE DOUGLAS rode east to St. Andrews to the bishop, to get his tack performed and ended at his hands, as he had promised him before ; and left with the king's grace JAMES DOUGLAS of Park-

head, with a hundred gentlemen with him, to wait upon the king wherever he past. But when GEORGE DOUGLAS came to St. Andrews, and remained there meikle of the day in dressing of his business, in the mean time the king past to the park of Falkland, there to have hounded a deer, and thought in his own mind, the time was convenient for him to make himself free at liberty, considering the earl, and GEORGE and ARCHIBALD were all absent at that time out of his company: Therefore he bethought him of a crafty mean, to jeopard himself in this manner, as after follows; that is to say, he called upon the laird of Fairny, who was foster of the same wood, and chamberlain of Fife at that time, and caused him to gar warn all the whole tenants of the king's lands, and gentlemen thereabout that had speediest dogs, that they would come to Falkland-wood on the morn, to meet him at seven hours; for he was determined that he would slay a fat buck or two for his pleasure; and, to that effect, gart warn the cooks and stewards to make his supper ready, that he might go to his bed the sooner, and have his disjoin ready by four hours; and commanded JAMES DOUGLAS of Parkhead to pass the sooner to his bed, and caused to bring his collation, and drank to JAMES DOUGLAS, saying to him, 'That he should have good hunting the morn;' and bade him be timeous; and syne the king went to his bed. Then JAMES DOUGLAS, seeing the king in his bed, wint that all had been ficker enough, and past in like manner to his bed.

When the watch was set, and all things in quietness, the king called on a yeoman of the stable, and desired one of his abuilziements, hose, cloke, coat and bonnet, and put upon him, and slipt forth as a yeoman of the stable; and was unperceived of the watches till he had passed to the stables, and caused saddle a horse for himself, and one led, and took two servants with him, to wit, JOCKIE HART, a yeoman of the stable, with another secret chamber-boy, and lap on horse, and spurred hastily his journey to Stirling,

Stirling, and wan there by the breaking of the day over the bridge, and syne gart steik it behind him, that no man should win that passage but licence. Syne past to the castle, and was received there by the captain, who was very glad of his coming, and prepared the castle with all needful things for his coming. Syne gart steik the gates, and drew down the portcullies, and put the king in his bed to sleep, because he had ridden all that night.

We will let him sleep in his bed, and return to GEORGE DOUGLAS, who came to Falkland at eleven hours at even; who required at the porters what the king was doing. They answered and said, 'that the king was sleeping in his bed in the secret chamber;' and so said the watchmen of the guard that watched him; and GEORGE, hearing this, past to his chamber to his bed; till, on the morn, that the sun was up. Syne, came the bailey of Abernethy, to wit, PETER CARMICHAEL, and knocked at GEORGE's chamber-door, and wakened him, and speired where the king was. GEORGE answered and said, 'He is in his chamber sleeping.' The baillie said, 'No, he is past the bridge of Stirling.' Then GEORGE got up hastily, and put on his clothes, and went to the guard, and to the porters, and speired for the king. They answered and said, 'He was in his chamber in his bed.' Then GEORGE went to his chamber and knocked; but none would answer him; for the door was locked, which he dang up, and found no man therein. Then he cried, 'Fy, treason, the king was gone, they knew not where.' Some said he was past to Bambrigh to a gentlewoman. Another said he was ridden to Stirling. Then GEORGE lap on horse to ride to Bambrigh: But, within two miles, he met the earl of Rothes, and shewed him that the king was not there.

Then they past to Falkland again, and took consultation what was best to be done; and sent a hasty post to the earl of Angus, to advertise and shew him the matter, and how it stood. By this ARCHIBALD

DOUGLAS came out of Dundee ; and then then they forgathered all together, to wit, the earl, GEORGE and ARCHIBALD, and rode altogether to Stirling to the king. But, when the king got word of their coming, he sent a herald of arms to the market-cross, and there, by sound of trumpet, commanded the earl of Angus, GEORGE DOUGLAS, ARCHIBALD DOUGLAS treasurer, with all the rest of their kin, friends and allies, that none of them should come near the king, within the space of six miles, under the pain of treason.

This proclamation being made, the earl of Angus and his friends, getting advertisement thereof, laid their heads together, and consulted what was best to be done concerning that proclamation. Some said, it was best to pass forward : But the earl and GEORGE concluded, that they would obey the king, and his proclamations ; and returned again, and pass backward to Linlithgow, and remained a day or two, till they got word from the king, who was, at that time, right busy sending for his lords to have their counsel ; to wit, he sent for the earl of Huntley, the earl of Argyle, the earl of Athole, the earl of Glencairn, the earls of Menteith and Rothes, the lord Graham, the lord Livingston, the lord Lindsay, the lord Sinclair, the lord Ruthven, the lord Drummond, the lord Evendale, the lord Maxwell, the lord Semple, the earl of Eglinton, with bishop JAMES BEATON ; and convened the said lords at Stirling to a council, the second day of July, in the year one thousand five hundred and twenty seven. And there the king shewed to them his mind with great lamentations ; shewing to them, how he was holden in subjection, thir years bygone, by the earl of Angus and his kin and friends, who oppressed the whole country, and spoiled it under the pretence of justice and his authority ; and had slain many of his lieges, kinsmen and friends, because they would have had it mended at their hands, and put him at liberty, as he ought to have been, at the counsel of his whole lords, and not have been sub-

subjected or corrected with no particular men, by the rest of his nobles: 'Therefore, said he, I desire, my lords, that I may be satisfied of the said earl, his kin and friends: For, I avow that Scotland shall not hold us both, while I be revenged on him and his.'

The lords hearing the king's complaint and lamentation, and also the great rage, fury and malice that he bore toward the earl of Angus, his kin and friends, they concluded all, and thought it best, that he should be summoned to underly the law; if he fand not caution to enter, nor yet compear himself, that he should be put to the horn, with all his kin and friends, so many as were contained in the letters. And further, the lords ordained, by advice of his majesty, that his brother and friends should be summoned to find caution to underly the law within a certain day, or else to be put to the horn. But the earl compeared not, nor none for him; and so was put to the horn, with all his kin and friends: So many as were contained in the summons, that compeared not, were banished, and holden traitors to the king.

So we may see, that all courts on earth are not constant, but changeable; and no court constant but the court of heaven, wherein is no variance. For this man the earl of Angus, having the king and court at his pleasure, thought he could never be separated from his grace, by no means, power nor ingine; yet when he was standing in his highest degree, and thinking himself in tranquillity with his prince, dreading no trouble or cumber to come hereafter; because he had debated so many troubles before in his defence, and had foughten so cruelly before, and made such slaughter to defend his own right and authority with the king, in times bygone; thinking then there was no man to pursue him; (for he had win the upper-hand upon all them that intended to act him off from the court, or guiding:) But when the mighty God, that hath power above all earthly men, seeing the proppit time of this man's

felicity in court, that it was near spent, caused the court change, by the expectation of man, without cause offered to the king, to cause banish and for-fault this man, as I have shewn to you: Therefore, let every man, that desires to be had in court with the king or queen, to reign in authority above his neighbours, take example of this man, in the hasty change that came of him, by any man's expectation: Therefore, I say, let courtiers first serve God, and syne their prince; and do to their neighbours and brethren as they would be done withal; and then they shall obtain favour and mercy, and come to his court which reigns in glory and felicity, world without end. Amen.

Now we will return to our history. The earl of Angus, his kin and friends, being at the horn, in this manner as we have shown of, the king gart make proclamations through all his realm, to all and sundry his lieges, with certification, who received this earl or his friends, whatsoever they were, they should be holden as traitors to the crown, and partakers of that crime that the said earl and his friends were convicted of.

Further, the king made proclamations to Fife, Angus, Strathern, Stirling-shire, Lothian, Merse, and Teviotdale, to compear at Edinburgh the tenth day of December, in the year one thousand five hundred and twenty seven, with forty days victuals, to pass with him to Tantallon, to siege the same; and, to that effect, gart send to the castle of Dumbar to captain Morice, to borrow some artillery, and laid great pledges for the same, because the castle was then in the duke of Albany's hand, and the artillery thereof his own: But it was ever at the king's pleasure, when he had ought ado, and that by the command of the said duke of Albany: But yet, for restoring and delivering of the same, and observing of a good order, caused three lords to pass in pledge for the said artillery, till it were delivered again, and received the same, in manner as after follows; that is to say, two great cannons thrown-mouthed, Mow and
her

her marrow, with two great botcards, and two moy-ans, two double falcons, and four quarter-falcons, with their powder and bullets, and gunners for to use them, conform to the king's pleasure. Syne past forward to Tantallon, and sieged the same the space of twenty days; but they came no speed: Whether the castle was so strong, or the gunners corrupted by the earl of Angus's moyen, I cannot tell. But the king left it, and was constrained to depart home to Edinburgh, without any success of victory, or any hope of winning the said castle; and had both many men and horse slain at the pursuit of the said castle; and, at his returning, had a noble captain of war slain, called DAVID FALCONER, who was murdered cruelly by the hands of ARCHIBALD DOUGAS, umquhile treasurer, and father-brother to the said earl; at whose slaughter the king was heavily displeased, and lamented the same greatly, casting all his ingine that he might, by his counsel, to obtain the castle of Tantallon, knowing well, if he had the castle, there would be no refuge to the earl, nor his friends, in that country: Therefore, he caused sundry lords and gentlemen to make moyen with the said captain, called SIMON PANNANGO, promising to him great gifts and rewards, both of lands and gear, with the king's special favour, and remit of all things bypast to the said captain, his brother, friends and servants whom he desired except the Douglasses.

Of thir offers the captain took to be advised till a certain day, and syne promised to give the king an answer, conform to his majesty's desire: And, in the mean time, the said captain sent to the earl, ARCHIBALD and GEORGE, to wit, what was their minds, shewing that he was evil victualled, and wanted artillery, powder and bullets; and therefore desired the said earl and his friends to furnish him thereof within a certain day, or otherwise it were force to him to render the foresaid castle to the king, or others in his name that pursued it.

The earl, hearing this message, was nowise content thereof, because he knew well he could no ways support

port him, neither with artillery, powder nor bullets, because he had none at that time, nor could provide none hastily; nor yet could he furnish them with victuals, neither by sea nor land; because the king had watches on them; that is to say, ships on the sea, and gentlemen on the land, ever watching, that no furnishing should come to the said castle. The captain waiting for an answer of his master the earl, and seeing no support to come to him by the said earl and his friends, appointed with the king, and rendered the said castle to him, on their conditions, as after follows; that is to say, that the king should remit the said captain all offences done by him to his majesty, or otherwise contrary the commonweal; and shall give a free remission thereof to him, and his friends and servants; and shall grant to him all bag and baggage; and the king shall have the said castle, with artillery and weapons, used in defence of the said place; but all other furnishings, as gold, silver, clothing and abulziements and victuals, shall be the said captains, to dispone at his pleasure.

Of this appointment the king and the council were very well content, and received the said castle of Tantallon from SIMON the captain, and rewarded him according to the king's promise. Shortly after, the king gart garnish it with men of war and artillery; and put in a new captain, to wit, OLIVER SINCLAIR; and caused masons come and ranforce the walls, which were left waste before, as trances and thorow-passages; and made all massy work, to the effect, that it should be more able in time coming, to any enemies that would come to pursue it. Syne gart make proclamations through all the realm, that no man should foster, favour nor sustain no Douglasses within their bounds; and thereafter gart bring in their rents, mails and duties, to the king's own use, to the effect that they should be poor, and have no strength in time coming.

The Douglasses seeing this, that they, on no ways, could obtain the king's favour in Scotland, they consulted among themselves to pass to England; where they

they were received thankfully with king HARRY VIII. who sustained them very honourably a long while.

This being done, the king hearing tell of their absence, gart set a parliament at Edinburgh, the twenty eighth day of March, one thousand five hundred and twenty eight; and there, in presence of the king and three estates, the said earl of Angus, his kin, and friends, were forfeited, and their lands annexed to the crown. And this forfeitry and process led, as I have shewn you, the king passed to Stirling, and there remained a space, and changed many of his officers, that is to say, the treasurer, comptroller, secretary, Mr household, and many other officers which pleased him to renew, and placed others in their places, that he thought more expedient.

Syne after, made a convention at Edinburgh, with all his whole lords and barons, to consult how he might stanch all theft and reiving within his realm, and cause the commons to live in peace, which long time had been perturbed before, for fault of good guiding of an old king. To this effect, the king made proclamations to all lords, barons, gentlemen, landward-men, and free-holders, that they should compare at Edinburgh, with a month's victual, to pass with the king where he pleased, to danton the thieves of Teviotdale, Anandale, Liddisdale, and other parts of that country: And also warned all gentlemen that had good dogs, to bring them, that he might hunt in the said country, as he pleased; the while, the earl of Argyle, the earl of Huntley, the earl of Athole, and so all the rest of the gentlemen of the High-land, did, and brought their hounds with them in like manner, to hunt with the king, as he pleased.

The second day of June, the king past out of Edinburgh to the hunting, with many of the nobles and gentlemen of Scotland with him, to the number of twelve thousand men; and then past to Meggitland, and bounded and hawked all the country and bounds; that is to say, Crammat, Pappert-law, St. Marylaws,

Marylaws, Carlavirick, Chapel, Ewindoore, and Longhope. I heard say, he slew, in these bounds, eighteen score of harts.

After this hunting he hanged JOHN ARMSTRONG laird of Kilknocky, and his complices, to the number of thirty six persons: for the which many Scottish-men heavily lamented: for he was the most redoubted chiftain that had been, for a long time, on the borders either of Scotland or England. He rode ever with twenty four able gentleman, well horsed: yet he never molested any Scottish-man. But it is said that, from the Borders to Newcastle, every man, of whatsoever estate, paid him tribute to be free of his trouble. He came before the king, with his foresaid number richly apparelled, trusting that, in respect of his free offer of his person, he should obtain the king's favour. But the king, seeing him and his men so gorgeous in their apparel, with so many brave men under a tyrant's commandment, forwardly turning him about, he bade take the tyrant out of his sight, saying, 'What wants that knave, that a king should have?' But JOHN ARMSTRONG made great offers to the king, that he should sustain himself with forty gentlemen, ever ready at his service, on their own cost, without wronging any Scottish-man. Secondly, that there was not a subject in England, duke, earl or baron, but, within a certain day, he should bring him to his majesty, either quick or dead. At length, he seeing no hope of favour, said, very proudly, 'It is folly to seek grace at a graceless face: But (said he) had I known this, I should have lived on the borders, in despite of king HARRY and you both; for I know king HARRY would down-weigh my best horse with gold, to know that I were condemned to die this day.'

This being done, the king returned to Edinburgh the twenty eighth day of July, one thousand five hundred and twenty eight years; and thereafter remained in the castle meikle of the winter. Syne, the next summer, past to the Highland to hunt in Athole, and took with him his mother MARGARET queen of Scotland,

Scotland, and an ambassador of the pope's who was in Scotland for the time. The earl of Athole, hearing of the king's coming, made great provision for him in all things pertaining to a prince, that he was as well served and eased, with all things necessary to his estate, as he had been in his own palace of Edinburgh. For, I heard say, this noble earl gart make a curious palace to the king, to his mother, and to the ambassador; where they were so honourably eased and lodged as they had been in England, France, Italy, or Spain, concerning the time and equivalent, for their hunting and pastime; which was builded in the midst of a fair meadow, a fair palace of green timber, wind with green birks, that were green both under and above, which was fashioned in four quarters, and in every quarter and nuik thereof a great round, as it had been a block-house, which was lofted and gested the space of three house height; the floors laid with green scarets and spreats, medwards and flowers, that no man knew whereon he zeid, but as he had been in a garden. Further, there were two great rounds in ilk side of the gate, and a great portculleis of tree, falling down with the manner of a barrace, with a draw-bridge, and a great flank of water of sixteen foot deep, and thirty foot of breadth. And also this palace within was hung with fine tapestry and arrasses of silk, and lighted with fine glass windows in all airths; that this palace was as pleasantly decored, with all necessaries pertaining to a prince, as it had been his own palace-royal at home. Further, this earl gart make such provision for the king, and his mother, and the ambassador, that they had all manner of meats, drinks and delicates that were to be gotten, at that time, in all Scotland, either in burgh or land; that is to say, all kind of drink, as ale, beer, wine, both white and claret, Malvasy, Muscadel, Hippocras and Aquavitz. Further, there was of meats, white-bread, main-bread and and ginge-bread; with fleshes, beef, mutton, lamb, veal, venison, goose, grice, capon, coney, cran, swan, partridge, plover, duck, drake, brissel-cock and

and pawnies, black-cock and muir-fowl, capercaillies : And also the stanks, that were round about the palace, were full of all delicate fishes, as salmons, trouts, pearches, pikes, eels, and all other kind of delicate fishes that could be gotten in fresh waters; and all ready for the banquet. Syne were there proper stewards, cunning baxters, excellent cooks and potingers, with confections and drugs for their deserts; and the halls and chambers were prepared with costly bedding, vessel and napery according for a king; so that he wanted none of his orders more than he had been at home in his own palace. The king remained in this wilderness, at the hunting, the space of three days and three nights, and in his company, as I have shewn. I heard men say, it cost the earl of Athole, every day, in expences, a thousand pounds.

The embassador of the pope, seeing this great banquet and triumph, which was made in a wilderness, where there was no town near by twenty miles, thought it a great marvel, that such a thing could be in Scotland, considering that it was named, The Arse of the World, by other countries; and that there should be such honesty and policy in it, and specially in the High-land, where there was but wood and wilderness. But, most of all, this embassador marvelled to see, when the king departed, and all his men took their leave, the Highland-men set all this fair place in a fire, that the king and the embassador might see it. Then the embassador said to the king, ' I marvel, Sir, that you should thole
' yon fair place to be burnt, that your grace has
' been so well lodged in.' Then the king answered the embassador, and said, ' It is the use of our
' Highland-men, though they be never so well
' lodged, to burn their lodging when they depart.'

This being done, the king returned to Dunkeld that night; and, on the morn, to St. Johnston. I heard say, the king at that time, in the bounds of Athole and Strathern, slew thirty score of hart and hynd, with other small beasts, as roe, and roe-buck,

buck, wolf and fox, and wild-cats. Then the king, within a day or two, came to Dundee, where he was honourably received, and well entertained by the constable, and the honest burgessees thereof, and remained there three days; and syne passed to St. Andrews, and his mother with him, and the embassador; and there remained till the Michaelmas, and was well entertained by bishop JAMES BEATON, and prior PATRICK HERBURN. Syne past to Stirling, and remained there the most part of the winter. Syne, the next spring of the year, came to Edinburgh, and founded a fair palace in the abbey of Holy-rood-house, and a great tower to himself to rest into, when he pleased to come. Further he sent to Flanders, and brought home artillery and harness, with powder and bullets, with picks, and all other kind of munition, and garnished his castles therewith, viz. Edinburgh, Stirling, Dumbar, Dumbar-ton and Blackness. Further, he translated the palace of Linlithgow, and bigged a pretty palace in the castle of Stirling.

In this year there came an embassador out of England, named lord WILLIAM HOWARD, with a bishop with him, with many other gentlemen, to the number of threescore horse, which were all able men, and waled men for all kind of games and pastime, shooting, louping, running, wrestling, and casting of the stone: But they were well sayed ere they past out of Scotland, and that by their own provocation; but ever they tint: Till, at last, the queen of Scotland, the king's mother, favoured the Englishmen, because she was the king of England's sister; and therefore she took an enterprize of archery upon the Englishmens hands, contrary her son the king, and any six in Scotland that he would wale, either gentlemen or yeomen, that the Englishmen should shoot against them, either at pricks, revers, or butts, as the Scots pleased.

The king, hearing this of his mother, was content; and gart her payn a hundred crowns, and a tun of wine upon the English-mens hands; and be-

incontinent laid down as much for the Scottish-men. The field and ground was chosen in St. Andrews, and three landed men and three yeomen chosen to shoot against the Englishmen, to wit, DAVID WEMYSS of that ilk, DAVID ARNOT of that ilk, and Mr JOHN WEDDERBURN, vicar of Dundee; the yeomen, JOHN THOMSON in Leith, STEVEN TABURNER, with a piper, called ALEXANDER BAILIE. They shot very near, and warred the Englishmen of the enterprize, and wan the hundred crowns and the tun of wine; which made the king very merry, that his men wan the victory.

This English embassador got preface in St. Andrews, and there he shewed his commission from the king of England unto the king of Scotland; and promised to him, if he would come to England, and speak with him, he should make him duke of York, and governor and protector of England, and put his young son in his hands in keeping induring his minority. The king was very well content of his desire, and promised to lord WILLIAM, that he should come when he saw time convenient, and his realm established and put to order, he should not fail to come to his uncle the king of England, to meet him in what place he pleased.

This being done, the embassador past home to England, with the king's answer to their king, who was well content, and very glad, believing the king of Scotland's promise: But, nevertheless, the wicked bishops of Scotland would not thole the king to pass, but caused him send an embassador to excuse him, that he might not come at that time; because, in the north parts of his realm, there was great slaughter, and he might not come till he had punished the same: For the bishops conceived in their minds, that if king HARRY met with our king, that he would cause him to cast down the abbeyes of Scotland, like as he had done in England: Therefore they budded the king to bide at home, and gave him three thousand pounds by year to sustain his house, off their benefices.

But,

But, in the mean time, there rose great trouble and herſhip in the borders, that the king, of force, behoved to ſend his brother, the earl of Murray, to the borders, and made him lieutenant-general; and divided the whole realm of Scotland in four parts, and cauſed every one of them to keep their quarters, which continued the ſpace of a year; which was called by the common people, The Quarter-roads. Yet the king was conſtrained to ſend an embaffador to England, named the biſhop of Aberdeen, and with him three antient knights, to wit, Sir DAVID WEMMAS of that ilk, Sir DAVID BARCLAY of Cul-lernay, and Sir ALEXANDER STUART of Garleis. Thir embaffadors forſaid paſt with the king's com-miſſion, and a ſecret writing, written with the king's own hand, and ſealed on the back thereon, that no man ſhould open the ſaid writing, till it was preſented to the king of England; giving the biſhop ſtriſt command, that he ſhould keep the ſame ſe-cret, and not reveal it to no other but to himſelf alone, and ſend him answer thereupon written with his own hand, that neither the council nor ſecreta-ries, nor no others ſhould know the ſecrets betwixt them, but themſelves ſollenarly.

The embaffadors paſt to England at the king's commands, and were well received by king HARRY at London, where they preſented their commiſſion in the king of Scotland's name, together with the ſecret writing, in king HARRY's own hand, deſiring him to keep the ſame quiet and ſecret, that no man ſhould ſee it, but himſelf ſollenarly, and to ſend the king of Scotland his answer again thereupon, written with his own hand, like as he had done to him. Of the which the king of England was very glad, and promiſed that no man ſhould ſee the ſaid writing.

This being done, the embaffadors paſt to their lodging and made merry; till, on the morn, they were ſent for like other embaffadors that were there before. The biſhop being ſet in the council conform to his eſtate, ſeeing the board all full of writings,

and letters of sundry ambassadors of other countries, every one for their own affairs, as they had ado; but, in special, he saw the king's secret writing lying patent and open to all the whole council to read. The bishop was angry, and thought the king had not done his duty to his master the king of Scotland, in putting of the writing before all the whole council, considering the king's promise: For this cause the bishop started from the board, and took the king of England by the hand, and led him to the window, and said to him, 'Sir, if it will please your majesty, if I might say, with your licence, you have failed to our master the king of Scotland.' The king answereth the bishop, 'God forbid that I do so, to fail my sister's son. By the mass, ere I fail to him, I rather put the crown of England in jeopardy against any man that would priev the same: But if you gar me not understand, wherein I have failed to him, you shall be the author of the same failure yourself.' The bishop answered, 'Sir, with your pardon, you promised, that the secret writing that I presented to your majesty, from his majesty my master, that no man should see it but your own self; and now, Sir, it is here present, and patent before the council, that all men may read it that please.' The king answered, 'By the mass, my lord bishop, you are all deceived; for no man hath seen it but my own body; for there is no man yonder but my own body in them, and they in me; for there is none yonder that dare renounce any thing, under the pain of hanging, quartering and drawing, and forfaiting of their lands; and if your king use any other privy means, but by his highness and wise council, in the government of his realm, and his own body, he will not reign long, nor have his realm in peace and rest: Therefore shew him, that neither I, nor he, nor no other king, may be ruled, but by our counsel, to do any good, or to govern our realm in peace and rest, for maintain-

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ing of our commonweal, and preserving of our own bodies.

By this the king had ended his speech, he sat down and the bishop to the council, where all matters were drest, and a good answer given to the bishop concerning his commission: but it was not hastily delivered at that time, but he remained in England the space of a quarter of a year. And, after the bishop had come home, he shewed the king the manner, how he had sped in his commission; and king HARRY's behaviour touching my lord of Angus and the Douglasses; and saw the king of England was so given to entertain them, the king took a great suspicion of them, and of their favourers that were in Scotland for the time, and specially of Drumlanerick, and other of the surname of Douglas.

The lady Glames, at that time, was accused for crimes of lese-majesty, and convicted, and burnt upon the Castle-hill of Edinburgh. And at that time the master of Forbes was convicted for the same treason, and justified; who confessed, when he died, he was innocent of the crime which was laid to his charge; but he knew well it was the innocent slaughter of the laird of Meldrum that caused him to die the death, and not for treason against the king.

After this, their was a singular combat betwixt the laird of Drumlanerick and the laird of Hempfield, who provoked others in barrace to fight to death, for certain points of treason which were rehearsed betwixt them. But when the day was set, and they compeared at Edinburgh in barrace, but unarmed at all parts, Drumlanerick being something sand-blind and saw not well, strake so furiously and so hot at his marrow, while he knew not whether he hit him or not; in the mean time the laird of Hempfield's sword brake betwixt his hands; and then the king gart cry to the heralds, and men of arms, to red them; and so they stanchd, and fought no more. And likewise there were many Southland-

men, that appelled other in barrace, to fight before the king to the dead, for certain crimes of lese-majesty.

Further, this year, there were certain godly men, who professed the Evangel of Christ, that were called and accused before the bishops and kirk-men, and were condemned and burnt, by the king's commission, at Edinburgh, one thousand five hundred and thirty years. The names of them, to wit, the vicar of Dolour, Mr NORMAN GALLOWAY, DAVID STRAITON, brether to the laird of Lauriston.

The accusation of the vicar of Dolour, and the articles thereof; that is to say, the accuser, Mr JOHN LAUDER, saying in this manner, 'False heretick, thou sayst it is not leisome to kirk-men to take their tithes, offerings and cross-puts, though we have been in use of the same, constitute and ordained by the kirk, our kings, and our holy fathers, the popes; have confirmed the same.' The vicar answered and said, 'Brother, I said not so. I said it is not leisome to kirk-men to spend the teinds and the patrimony of the kirk, as they do, on harlots and whores, and delicate clothings, riotous banquetting, and wanton playing at cards and dice; and the kirk riven, and the pulpit down, and the people not instructed in God's word, nor the sacraments duly ministrated to them, as the scripture of Christ commands.' The accuser answered, 'Deniest thou that thing, that is openly-known in the country, that thou gavest again to the parishioners, the cow and the upmost cloath, saying, thou hadst no reason unto them?' The vicar answered, 'I gave them again to them that had more miltier than I of them had.' The accuser answered, 'What sayst thou, that thou learnedst thy parishioners to pray unto God, the Pater-noster in English; and also taughtest them the Belief and Ten Commands in English, which is contrary to our acts? Shall the common people know any part or point of the Scripture of God in English; or any part of the Scripture be read in English, or any books thereupon.

‘ upon be used in English?’ The vicar answered and said, ‘ Brother, my parishioners and congregation were so rude and barbarous, that they understood no Latin, that it was force to me, on my conscience, to teach them and learn them the words of their salvation in English, that is to say, the Ten Commands, which is the law of God, whereby they might know their sins, and repent, and forbear the same in time coming; and also the belief, whereby they might know their faith unto God, and Jesus Christ his son, his death and resurrection, and everlasting life through him. Further, I taught them the Dominical Oration, which we call the Lord’s Prayer, in their own mother tongue, to the effect, that they might know and understand whom to they prayed, and in whose name, what they should ask or desire in their prayer, and what hope they should have in obtaining the same.’ Then the accuser answered, ‘ Why didst thou by our acts and constitutions, and the order and commandment of our holy father the pope, and all the Catholic church?’ The vicar answered, ‘ Verily, brother, I follow the order and commandment of our master and sovereign Jesus Christ, and his apostle Paul, who shews, in his doctrine unto the Corinthians, in the fourteenth chapter, saying, I had rather speak two words to the understanding and edification of the people, than ten thousand words in a language which they understand not, nor is not edified therewith.’ The accuser answered, ‘ Heretick, where finds thou that?’ The vicar answered, ‘ My brother, in my book, which is here in my sleeve.’ The accuser start to him, and pulled the book out of his sleeve, and held it up, and shewed it to the people, saying, ‘ See the heretick, he hath the book hid in his sleeve; lo, it is here, which is heresy, and makes all this plea and cumber in the holy kirk, and among the prelates thereof.’ The vicar answered, ‘ Brother, you could say better if you pleased; but God forgive you, that calls the true Scripture of God to be the book of heresy.’ And, with

with this turned him to the people, and said unto them, ' My dear hrethren and hearty friends, believe not this wicked man, that calls this book heresy ; for I assure you, there is nothing in this book, but the latter will and testament of our Saviour Christ Jesus, written by his four Evangelists, to our learning and instruction for our salvation in Christ.' The accuser answered, ' Heretick, thou cannot deny but the New Testament in English is contrary to our acts, and forbidden by the pope, and is enough to burn thee, thief.' Then the council of the clergy gave sentence on him to be burnt, for using of the same book, the New Testament in English. And likewise they condemned DAVID STRAITON, because he would not abjure and burn his faggot ; which the king desired him gently for to do, and procured for his life at the bishops hands, who were content to give him the same, if he would burn his faggot ; which he would not consent to ; and therefore they burnt him. I know no cause wherefore, but he discorded with his parson for not payment of his teinds. And likewise Mr NORMAN GALLOWAY was condemned and burnt. I know no cause wherefore, but because he was in the East-land, and came home, and married a wife, contrary to the form of the pope's institution, because he was a priest ; for they would thole no priest to marry, but they would punish and burn him to the dead ; but if he had used ten thousand whores, he had not been burnt.

This being done, the king past to the isles, and there held justice courts, and punished both thief and traitor, according to their demerit. And also he caused great men to shew their holdings, where-through he found many of the said lands in non-entry ; the which he confiscate and brought home to his own use, and afterward annexed them to the crown, as ye shall hear. Syne brought many of the great men of the isles captive with him, such as, Mudyart, Macconnel, Macloyd of the Lewis, Macniel, Maclane, Macintosh, John Mudyart, Mackay, Mackenzie, with many others that I cannot rehearse at this time. Some of
them.

them he put in ward, and some had in court, and some he took pledges for good rule in time coming. So he brought the isles, both north and south, in good rule and peace; wherefore he had great profit, service and obedience of people a long time thereafter; and as long as he had the heads of the country in subjection, they lived in great peace and rest, and there was great riches and policy by the king's justice.

The king seeing he danton'd the north country and the isles, and there-through he fand he had great peace and rest, and there was great riches and policy, by the taking of the headsmen of the country, and putting of them in ward; and so conquest great love of the commons, because of the peace and rest in his time. And the king rejoiced when he had brought the wild Highlands, and the isles to this stability and perfection, and set himself, by all means, to establish the like peace in the borders, like as he had done before in the isles: And, to that effect, charged certain great men in the south borders foresaid, to enter in ward, in the castles of Edinburgh, Blackness and Dumbarton, there to remain during his pleasure; to wit, the laird of Buccleugh was warded in the castle of Edinburgh; the laird of Johnston and MARK KEE warded in Dundee, with many other gentlemen of the borders, because, he knew well they were the breakers of peace; and nothing was done by the commons, by their advice and command, where-through there was great rest and hardship in the country by thir said headsmen: But, from time that thir were taken, and put in captivity, as I have shewn, thereafter there was great peace and rest a long time; where-through the king had great profit; for he had ten thousand sheep going in the Ettrick forest in keeping by ANDREW BEUL, who made the king as good count of them, as they had gone in the bounds of Fife.

In this mean time, there were certain lords and gentlemen banished out of the country for certain crimes of lese-majesty, viz. the earl of Bothwell, the
master

master of Semple, the laird of Drumlanerick, with divers others.

Not long after this, the king, seeing the realm standing in such peace and tranquillity, rejoiced at the same, thinking daily that all things should increase more and more: To that effect gart send to Denmark, and bring home great horse and mares, and put them in parks, that, of their offspring, might be gotten to sustain wars in time of need. And also he sent to Flanders and France, and brought home artillery, powder and bullets, with pikes and harness, and other ordinance for war. And also plenished the country with all kind of craftsmen out of other countries, as, French-men, Spaniards, Dutch men and English-men, which were all cunning craftsmen, every man for his own hand. Some were gunners, wrights, carvers, painters, masons, smiths, harness-makers, tapesters, broudfesters, taylors, cunning chirurgeons, apothecaries, with all other kind of craftsmen that might bring his realm in policy, and his craftsmen apparel his palaces in all manner of operation and necessities, according to their order, and gave them large wages and pensions yearly.

This being done, the king sent his embassadors to the emperor for marriage, viz. Sir JOHN CAMPBELL of London, knight, Sir DAVID LINDSAY of the Mount, Lyon herald, who were well received by the emperor, and well entertained, and greatly rewarded for the king of Scotland's sake; where was presented to them two fair gentlewomen, which were the emperor's sister's daughters, which were fair and pleasant in beauty, and seemly in their behaviour: For the which cause the embassadors brought home their pictures to the king, and presented them to him: How he was content therewith, I cannot tell, but the marriage proceeded no further. But the king thereafter sent to France other embassadors for the duke of Vendome, viz. the laird of Erskine, the cardinal BEATON and Sir DAVID LINDSAY of the Mount, who were well received and entertained in France by the duke of Vendome and his dutchess, and also by his

his daughters, and granted all things to them, that they desired in the king of Scotland's name, concerning his marriage; but yet they had no commission to end, till the king saw the gentlewoman himself: And therefore, soon after, the king seeing his realm in good rest, he dressed himself hastily to France, and sailed there within three days and three nights, till he was within a day's journey to France: But how it happened I cannot tell, but he hastily returned back again to Scotland. Some say there were lords and gentlemen in his company, that desired not to pass to France, but to marry with such as they favoured in Scotland; when the king was sleeping, they caused the shipper to change his course, and come homeward again to Scotland. But when the king awaked out of his sleep, and knew that his course was changed where he was bound, he was offended at them all that gave him counsel thereunto; but specially to the shipper who changed his course, and returned again, by his command; and, had it not been the more solistation and moyen that was made for him, the king had gart hang him incontinent: but, because he had pity and compassion on his wife and bairns, he gave him grace at that time, but he came never in his favour again, nor none of them that caused him, or gave him counsel to turn fail.

The king, seeing there was no remedy but to return to Scotland again, he gart land him at the nearest port of the West isles, and sync came to the isle of Bute his own castle, where he remained till he got horse and men to convoy him home to the castle of Stirling; where he remained for a certain space, till his ship came about to the frith, and remained in the road of Leith till he was provided to pass forward to France. For the which cause he assembled his council, shewing to them, how he was frustrate and put back again, as said is, by evil-advised persons, which at that time, he would not expreme; but he vowed, if he had live-days, he should recompense them, who were the hinderers of his journey, according to their labours. Notwithstanding, he gart in-

continent

continent provide ships, men, victuals and artillery, and the best shippers and mariners that could be got upon the coast of Scotland, to pass in the said ships with him again to France, and caused many of the nobility of Scotland to make them ready to pass with him within a certain day, viz. the earl of Arran, the earl of Argyle, the earl of Huntley, the earl of Errol, the earl of Athole, the lord Maxwell, the lord Fleming, the lord Livingston, the lord Ruthven, the lord Salton, the earl of Cassilis, the earl of Marshal, the earl of Murray, the earl of Rothes, the master of Erskine, for the lord, his father, was there before in embassadry, and the cardinal: Also there were many barons and gentlemen to pass with the king at this time. And when the king had prepared himself and his ships, he pass to Pittenweem, and there embarked himself and his nobles, and pass forward to France, where he arrived at the Newhaven beside Deep.

As soon as the Frenchmen saw the king of Scotland and his navy approaching near the land, they believed they had been strangers or unfriends, which caused them to be affeared, because there were many other strangers in his company, whereby he seemed to be a greater army, which made them all to be aghast in the Newhaven: But from time they saw the Red Lion of Scotland, they knew well it was the king; then they rejoiced at his coming, when they heard word and knew surely it was the king: Therefore the word ran through the country, that the king of Scotland was landed at the Newhaven, with a great army. The which novels came hastily to the emperor's camp, where it was lying for the time, to the number of fourscore thousand fighting men against the king of France, whose lieutenant was lying foreneat him in camp of battle, in like manner, to the number of threescore thousand men, who were daily skirmishing together, till, at the last, the novels came to the emperor, that the king of Scotland was landed at the Newhaven, beside Deep, with a great army to the number of twenty thousand men, and to support the king of France contrary the emperor.

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The emperor, hearing thir novels, took such fear of the king of Scotland, that he took up his camp and departed forth of that bounds, home to his own country.

This being done, the king of Scotland landed himself and his nobles, and thereafter took post to Paris, where he remained short while, till he past to the duke of Vendome to his place, where he was for the time. But the king of Scotland would not shew himself openly at that time, but disguised himself as he had been a servant, thinking he should not be known, neither to the duke, nor to his wife, or the gentlewoman who should have been his spouse; thinking that he should spy their fairness and behaviour, and be unknown of her and her father. Yet, notwithstanding, the fair lady took suspicion that the king of Scotland should be in that company; wherefore she past to her coffer, and took forth his picture, which she had gotten from Scotland by a secret moyen; then she knew the king incontinent, where he stood among the rest of the company, and past pertly to him, and took him by the hand, and said, 'Sir, you stand over far aside; therefore, if it please your grace to talk with my father, or me, as you think for the present, a while for your pleasure, you may if you will.'

The king hearing this, was a little ashamed, that he had disguised himself to be unknown, and syne was so hastily known by the moyen of that gentlewoman; then he past to the duke of Vendome, and took him in his arms, and the duke again made him due reverence, who was greatly rejoiced at the king's coming; and so were all the rest of the duke's company: And then the king past to the duchess, and embraced and kist her, and so did he to the dutchess's daughter, and to all the rest of the ladies; and syne excused him, why he was so long unknown to them, desiring their pardon therefore: But he was soon forgiven and brought unto their favour. Then there was nothing but merriness, banqueting, great chear, music, and playing on instruments, playing melodiously,

ously, with galliard, dancing in masks, and pretty farces and plays, all were made unto the king of Scotland, and all other pastime, as justing and running of great horse, with all other pleasure that could be devised. There was made by the duke of Vendome a fair royal palace, with all costly ornaments to decorate the king's honour, viz. the walls thereof hung with tapestry of cloth of gold and fine silk; the floor laid over with green freeze; the beds hung with cloth of gold; and a peal of gold set with precious stones, which was hung about the king's head when he sat at meat, and the halls and chambers were perfumed with sweet odours, which were very costly, and delectable to the sense. There was nothing left by the duke of Vendome, that might be done to the king of Scotland's honour: For he remained there the space of eight days, in great joy and merriness on both the sides, and many great tokens given and taken by the king of Scotland and the duke of Vendome's daughter, to wit, chains, rings, tablets, with diamonds, rubies, with many other precious jewels, which was to their great comfort and joy on both the sides. But yet the king and his council thought he would do nothing concerning his marriage at that time, till he had spoken with the king of France, considering that he was in his realm; he thought he would shew him his mind, and have his counsel, ere he concluded any thing farther in that matter: Therefore the king took purpose to pass hastily to the king of France, where he was for the time, to do him all reverence that he could, for love that was betwixt the realms in time bypast; therefore the king hastily took post, but few in number with him, and past where the king of France lay, at that time, at his pleasure, at hunting and hawking, and other pastime, such as he thought meet for him, well accompanied with the queen his wife, and many other lusty ladies with the queen, his daughter, and his eldest son, with many other lords and barons. But when they heard tell, and saw the king of Scotland come in proper person, they all greatly rejoiced, and marvelled much
of

of the king's coming through the sea, taking even-
ture, considering the brokennels of the seas, and the
enemies great on every side. Also they marvelled of
his great diligence in taking post and coming so haf-
tily unto them, taking fear of nothing for the time.
And as soon as the dauphin saw the king of Scotland,
he ran unto him, and got him into his arms, and wel-
comed him heartfully, and shewed him that his father
would be blyth of his coming, considering as it stood
with him at that time: For, a little before, the duke
of Orleans his eldest son, who was dauphin at that
time, was poisoned in the chapel by an Italian, which
made the king of France to be very sad: But the
coming of the king of Scotland gave him such com-
fort, that he forgot melancholy in time coming.
But the king of France was in his chamber taking rest,
and knew not of the king of Scotland's hasty coming;
'wherefore the king of Scotland and the dauphin went
to the king's chamber-door, and knocked rudely.
The king enquired, who it was that knocked so fast
to inquiet him from his rest. The dauphin answer-
ed, 'It is the king of Scotland come to see your
' grace, and to give you comfort.' He, hearing thir
words, rose from his bed, and opened the chamber-
door, and received the king of Scotland in his arms,
thanking God of his great benefits, that had taken
one son from him lately, yet he gave him thanks for
sending the noble prince unto him to be his son, ac-
cepting him in love and favour so fervently as he had
been his own natural son gotten of his body; and
commanded the dauphin, his son, to wait upon him,
and entertain him as his own brother; and see that
none of his servants that came with him, but that
they were treated and well entertained according to
their estate: But the king tarried no longer there,
but gart sound his trumpets, and all men to horse;
and also gart get fresh horse to the king of Scotland,
because he came there in post; and that night the
king came to a palace of his own, and remained there
all that night. But yet in this mean time, the king
of Scotland did his due reverence unto the queen of

France and her ladies, and in special to the queen's daughter MAGDALEN, who was riding in a chariot, because she was sickly and evil-disposed; yet, notwithstanding all her sickness and malady, from time she saw the king of Scotland, and spake with him, she loved him so, that she would have no man on life to her husband, but him allenarly; whereof the councils of France and Scotland liked nothing; for they were certified by the doctors, that no succession would come of her body, by reason of her long sickness and malady; and that she was not able to travail out of that country to no other; and if she did, she would not have long days. Yet, notwithstanding, the ardent love that this gentlewoman bore to the king of Scotland, caused her father, the king of France, consent unto her marriage with the king of Scotland: And, to that effect, desired the king of Scotland to consent to it; who consented unto it, for the love he bore to the king of France; and also, he knew there was great profit, friendship and ally to be gotten at the king of France's hand; and syne, she being his eldest daughter, it was not good to him to refuse that honourable offer of the king of France, to have his eldest daughter in marriage, with what pleasure and profit he desired with her.

Thir motives, and other more, provoked the king of Scotland so, that he consented unto the marriage; which afterwards, when he came to Paris, was triumphantly solemnized with great joy and pleasure, as after follows; that is to say, the king and council of France, on the one part; and the king of Scotland, and the most part of his nobility, on the other part; in manner, form and effect, as after follows; that is to say, the king of Scotland should marry, and take to wife, in presence of God and holy-kirk, MAGDALEN, the king of France's eldest daughter, and love her, and treat her according to her estate, and give her honourable living, and lands in conjunct fee: And also the bond of peace contracted with France should be renewed again with this two kings, to endure and stand for ever, like as it was first contracted

tracted by their predecessors afore. And further, for cause of marriage and love that the king of France bore to the king of Scotland, he should content and pay to him the sum of a hundred thousand crowns of the Sun, together with all other necessary pleasures and desires that the king of Scotland would desire of him hereafter.

The king of Scotland sent for many of his lords and barons to come to France to do him honour in the solemnizing of his marriage; and to compare at Paris at the day appointed to the said marriage in their best array, for the honour of Scotland, as they would do him pleasure and service.

Their letters being seen by the lords of Scotland, both spiritual and temporal, who were well content of the same, and were content to obey the king their master in all points, as he had written, and made them ready for to pass to him incontinent in their best array, conform to their estate. The number that past, was, six earls, six lords, six bishops, twenty great barons, who were most familiar with the king. Their all departed out of Scotland, and came to Paris against the day appointed of the king's marriage, and were heartily welcomed by the king of France, and the council thereof, and well entertained according to their estates. And the king of Scotland, their master, was glad of the same, seeing his nobles so obedient to do him honour to his pleasure and advancement.

This being done, immediately the marriage was solemnized at Paris, in Nostre Dame's kirk, at ten hours before noon, with the king of France and queen, their daughter and council, and all the whole nobility, on the one part; the king of Scotland, his council and nobility, on the other part; which was so great a multitude on both the sides, which would be cumbersome and tedious to rehearse: For there was never so great solemnity and triumph seen in France in one day, as was then, since the time of king CHARLES the Main. For there was such jousting and tournament, both on horse and foot, in burgh

and land, and also upon the sea with ships; and so much artillery shot in all parts in France, both on the land and sea, in castles, towns and villages, that no man might hear for the reard thereof: And also the riotous banqueting, delicate and costly clothings, triumphant plays and feasts, with pleasant sound of instruments of all kinds: And also cunning carvers, having the art of necromancy, to cause things appear which were not, as, flying dragons in the air, shots of fire at others heads, great rivers of waters running through the town, and ships fighting thereupon, as it had been in bullering streams of the sea, shooting of guns like cracks of thunder: And thir wonders were seen by the nobility and common people. All this was made by men of ingine, for outsetting of the triumph, to do the king of Scotland, and the queen of France, their master's pleasure.

When all the triumph was done and ended, a little while thereafter the king of Scotland desired to pass home to his own country, with his queen MAGDALEN, with the rest of his lords and nobility that were with him.

The king of France seeing this, that the queen of Scotland, his daughter, and the king, would depart home to their own country, he gart incontinent prepare ships and gallies, with victual and artillery, shippers, mariners and captains, and hands of men of war, to squyer the king of Scotland and his queen through the sea, that they were safely convoyed and preserved by them till they came in their own country; and also he gart prepare two great ships with canons, culverings, moyens, double falcons, with all kinds of other ordinance, with their powder and bullets, and all manner of other weapons ordained for war.

When thir ships were well prepared and ordained, the king of France presented them to the king of Scotland, and gave him them to use as he thought good, which remained long time in Scotland; the one of them named The Salamander, the other The Merilther. The king of Scotland had two of his
own

own at that time; the one called The Marival, the other called The Great Lyon, which were two lusty ships for war. These four, with other more great ships of France, were ordained to convoy the king of Scotland and the queen through the seas. This being done, the king of France caused his Mr Stabler to pass to his curie, where his great horse were, and waled a dozen of the best of them, with all things requisite to them, and present them to the king of Scotland. Further, he gart his master of armory to pass where his harness was, and gart choose out twenty stands of harness, that were double overgilt and enamelled, and gave unto his son the king of Scotland. In like manner, when this was done, he called on his daughter MAGDALEN the queen of Scotland, and caused her to pass to his wardrobe with her gentlewomen and ladies, and bade deliver unto her what she pleased, of cloth of gold, velvet, satin, damask, taffities, and other silks, to make her abuilziements as she pleased: And also commanded her to take what hingers or tapestry work, and peals of gold and silk, as she pleased; or any other jewels that he had in his wardrobe. Sync he gave her great gifts of chains, and all kinds of precious stones, that were or might be gotten for gold or silver. Such substance was never seen in Scotland as this young queen brought in it; for there was never the like in no man's time in Scotland.

All this being done, the king of Scotland took his leave at the king of France and queen, and at the whole court and nobility; and so did his queen MAGDALEN and her ladies, and all the rest of his nobility, with great drinking on every side. And thus the king of Scotland departed out of France, and came to the Newhaven beside Deep, and remained a day or two till the wind was fair; and sync embarked in his navy, and pulled up sails, and landed, at the fifth day, at the shore of Leith, being the twenty eighth of May, with all his navy, which was the number of fifty ships of Frenchmen and Scottish.

Scottishmen, and other strangers that conveyed the king through the sea. And when the queen came in Scottish ground, she bowed and inclined herself to the earth, and took the mounds thereof and kissed; syne thanked God that he had brought her safely through the sea, with her husband, to their own country; syne passed to the abbey of Holy-rood-house to the king's palace, there to remain till her triumph of entress was made, which began to provide in all parts of Scotland; and specially in Edinburgh, Leith, Dundee, Brechin, Montrose, Aberdeen, St. Johnston, Stirling, Glasgow, Air, Linlithgow, St. Andrews, and Cowpar of Fife. Thir worthy and principal towns, that were commanded to make provision and triumph for the king's coming, and his receipt; but, nevertheless, their joy was soon altered, and merriness turned to sadness and mourning, for displeasure of the queen; for she departed that same day forty days that she landed, being the fifth of July: And therefore, all their great blythness and joy of her coming was turned in great mourning; and all the play that should have been made, was all turned in soul-masses and diriges; where-through there zeid such mourning through the country, and lamentation, that it was great pity for to see: And also the king's heavy moan, that he made for her, was greater than all the rest.

But we will let her rest with God, and return again to France to the duke of Vendome's daughter, who took such displeasure and melancholy for the king of Scotland's marriage, that she, within short while, took sickness, and died. But when the king of Scotland got wit, he was heavily displeased therewith; and, in short while after, sent his ambassadors to France for marriage, viz. the lord Erskine, and DAVID BEATON cardinal of Scotland and archbishop of St. Andrews, being bishop of Merope in France, and abbot of Arbroth.

Thir ambassadors past at the king's command, and by the advice of his council and his commission, to
France,

France, for marriage of the dutchess of Lorrain, who was the duke of Guise's daughter, and there the said ambassadors, with advice of the king of France and his council, agreed the marriage in all points, according to the king of Scotland's pleasure; syne sent him word, with all diligence, that they had ended the matter, and appointed the day of marriage, as the king their master had given commission; and desired to wit what was his mind thereintill, and what should be proceeded further in the said matter.

The king, hearing thir tidings, was very well content of their expedition; and gart provide hastily a navy of ships, and the lord Maxwell admiral thereof, with other lords, great barons and gentlemen, to the number of two thousand men, by the king's own household; and gave the lord Maxwell commission to pass to France, to see the queen married; and thereafter to receive her in his keeping, that she remain there no longer, but come to the Newhaven, and there embark and ship so soon as wind and weather may serve. And thus the lord Maxwell and his navy and army that passed with him sped with all diligence, and hastened the king's commission and command as he had given him, and came and saw the queen married; and thereafter received her, and brought her to the Newhaven: And, so soon as wind and weather served, he shipped the queen; and syne pulled up sails, and sailed to Scotland the nearest way. But because the cardinal had no charge of the queen in the home-coming, nor yet was tholed to come in the ship that she was in, he was discontent, and in special at the lord Maxwell, admiral, whilk gendred displeasure afterward.

The queen landed in Scotland, at the place called Fyfeness, near Balcomy, where she remained till horse came to her. But the king was in St. Andrews, with many of his nobility, waiting upon her home-coming. Then he, seeing that she was landed in such a part, he rode forth himself to meet her,

her, with the whole lords spiritual and temporal, with many barons, lairds and gentlemen, who were convened for the time at St. Andrews in their best array; and received the queen with great honours and plays made to her. And first, she was received at the new Abbey-gate; upon the east side thereof there was made to her a triumphant arch, by Sir DAVID LINDSAY of The Mont, lyon herald, which caused a great cloud come out of the heavens above the gate, and open instantly; and there appeared a fair lady most like an angel, having the keys of Scotland in her hands, and delivered them to the queen, in sign and token that all the hearts of Scotland were open to receive her grace; with certain orations and exhortations made by the said Sir DAVID LINDSAY to the queen, instructing her to serve her God, obey her husband, and keep her body clean, according to God's will and commandments.

This being done, the queen was received unto her palace, which was called The New Inns, which was well decored against her coming. Also the bishops, abbots, priors, monks, friers, and canons regular, made great solemnity in the kirk, with masses, songs, and playing of the organs. The king received the queen in his palace to dinner, where was great mirth all day till time of supper.

On the morn, the queen past through the town, she saw the Black-friers, the Gray-friers, the old college and the new college, and St. Leonards; she saw the provost of the town and honest burgesse: But when the queen came to her palace, and met with the king, she confessed unto him, she never saw in France, nor no other country, so many good faces in so little room, as she saw that day in Scotland: For she said it was shewn unto her in France, that Scotland was but a barbarous country, destitute and void of all good commodities that used to be in other countries; but now she confessed she saw the contrary; For she never saw so many fair personages
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of men, women, young babes and children, as she saw that day.

At thir words of the queen the king greatly rejoiced, and said to her, ' Forsooth, madam, you shall see better, please God; ere you go through Scotland you will see many good-like men and women, with other commodities that will be to your contentment.' Then the king remained in St. Andrews the space of forty days, with great merriness and game, as, jousting, running at the lists, archery, hunting, hawking, with singing and dancing in maskery, and playing, and all other princely game, according to a king and a queen. And hereafter the king departed out of St. Andrews to Cowpar of Fife, and dined there; and syne passed to Falkland, and remained there a while in hunting of the fallow-deer, seven or eight days. Syne past to Stirling, where he was well received in the town and castle, with great mirth and pastimes for a while: And syne past to Linlithgow to the king's palace, and remained one day or two there. The queen confessed she had never seen a more princely palace. And syne he went to Edinburgh, where the king and queen were honourably received, with great triumph, in the castle, and in the town, and also in the palace; where they were honourably propined and richly, with the provost and community of the town, both with spices and wine, gold and silver: and also great triumphs, farces and plays, made unto the queen's grace on the expences of the said town: And so was then likewise in Dundee the space of six or eight days, very magnificently treated by the town, where the queen made her entress. At the whilk time the earl of Errol was married with the earl of Lenox's eldest sister for the time, by advice of the king's majesty, with great solemnity of marriage, the archbishop of Glasgow and Caithness being present with the king. This was done upon the fifth day of August, in the year of God preceeding. And St. Johnstoun, every man of them according to their ability, received

ceived their queen and mistress, as it became them to do.

So it past over meikle of this year; till at last, the queen's grace conceived and became with child; and hereafter, when her time came, she was delivered by God's grace, of a fair son, born at St. Andrews, the tenth day of the month of one thousand five hundred and thirty nine years; thereafter was honourably baptized with great triumph and merriness, as was the use of the country at that time; and was stiled JAMES STUART prince of Scotland and duke of Rothsay, and was nourished and brought up in St. Andrews the space of a year thereafter; till that his mother, the queen's grace, conceived again and bore another son at Stirling, in the month of in the year of God one thousand five hundred and forty years, and was named ROBERT STUART duke of Albany, and earl of Fife and Monteith.

Not long after this, the king set a parliament at Edinburgh, on the third day of December, in the year of God one thousand five hundred and forty; wherein the king ratified and approved his general revocation, the whilk he made in France, when he came of perfect age, to wit, at the town of Rouan, being of the age of twenty-five years; and because he was then off his own realm, and in France for the time, and had not his three estates there present with him: Therefore, as soon as he came to Scotland, he made his revocation of new, and ratified that thing that he had done; there, by instruments, he made it manifest in plain parliament, and took acts thereupon. And also he took the bones of ROBERT LESLY, and forfaulted him for certain crimes of lese-majesty. Many other good acts and constitutions he made in that parliament.

In the year following, the king took purpose to prepare all his castles and pleasant places for his pleasure, thinking that God, of his grace, had sent him such succession, that he needed not to care for
nothing

nothing but his own pleasure: And so he became insolent, and unmindful of God's benefits that he had bestowed on him; and rather regarded his own pleasure and sensual lust, in the using of his own particular affairs, forgetting God's glory, and the commonweal of the country, and goodly behaviour of his lords and barons, not regarding their good and honourable counsels; but rather took respect unto the privy counsels of his familiar servants, and certain kirk-men, as, bishops, abbots, priors, canons, monks and friers; who put him in such belief, that he might use his body as he pleased, for they should stand good for his soul. So they abused this noble prince, that they caused him understand, that all his lords and barons, and all other gentlemen that used or read the word of God in English, that they were plain hereticks, and not worthy to live under a christian king, nor to serve him; but rather to be burnt, and their lands confiscate and brought to the king's profit. So, with their ungodly and papistical counsel, they enticed and abused this noble king, and caused him to break his promise to his uncle the king of England. The which promise he made by advice of his great earls, lords and barons, and, to ratify the same, had interchanged his great seal with England, for joining of both the said realms in unity and peace in time coming; whereof the king of England was very desirous, as may be seen by his honest and reasonable offers, in his commission given to his ambassadors; and, to that effect, came to York with great provision, to meet the king of Scotland, in the year of God one thousand five hundred and forty one; which ambassadors foresaid presented their commission to the king of Scotland, with hearty commendations and princely propines, which were presented to the king of Scotland by the ambassadors, viz. lord WILLIAM HOWARD, and the bishop of St. Davids, which they did right honourably deliver in the king of England's name; which were heartily received by the king of Scotland, and that by the counsel of his most wise and honourable

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lords,

lords, who thought the king of England's commission and lovely desire to be so reasonable, that they thought it not to be denied, but rather to be granted, for welfare of both the said realms: For the king of England's commission was nothing to derogate the king of Scotland's honour, in no part, but rather to advance him in his high honour and substance, according to his princely estate: For the king of England thinking that he had no man so sib and tender as the king of Scotland, his sister's son; nor there was no living creature that he favoured and loved so well, except his son EDWARD, whom he thought to have putten in his hands in government and keeping, because he was aged, and thought his days would not endure long: Therefore he desired affectuously to speak with his sister's son the king of Scotland, that he might make him duke of York, and governor of England, and to put his son into his hands in keeping, for the more security of his welfare, thinking the king of Scotland most native and kindly, to support and defend his son, if ought came to him but good. For this noble prince, the king of England, had ever a suspicion in his mind, that, when it pleased God to take him, that some of the greatest of his lords would put at his son EDWARD, and trouble him in the brooking of his authority and realm, as they did thereafter, which is well known to all other countries about: therefore, this noble king sent his own hand-writ and commission unto the king of Scotland, his sister's son, in this manner as I have shewn you; and for no other cause, but to have joined both the said realms in such love and favour, that they should ever been able to have defended against their enemies, when time occurred. But yet the ungodly papistical bishops, with the abbots, monks and friers, with all the rest of the shavelings, took such fear and dreadour in their hearts, believing, if the king of Scotland and the king of England met, as their promise was, that their profit and glory, and papistical kingdom, should go down; because the king

of

of England had lately reformed, and casten down, the abbeyes, and all the rest of the idolatry, and had set forth God's word to have free passage through England, that God might be glorified, and the people edified therewith.

This wicked priests and bishops foresaid taking such suspicion in their hearts, if the two king's met, that it should become of them as it was of England; therefore cast all the ingine and labour that they might, to dissolve the said meeting, that none effect should come thereof; sometime by craft and ingine, sometimes by deceit and falshood, offering to the king great gifts of gold and silver, saying to him, that he should not want gold and silver, so long as there was a benefice in Scotland; and, to that effect, constitute and assigned to him, of yearly rent of their benefices, the sum of thirty thousand pounds, to be taken up in manner of taxation by their collectors, and to deliver yearly and freely to the king, to defend and maintain their liberty and the pope's authority.

Yet, for all this, the king was well minded to have kept his promise to the king of England, and that by the advice of his lords; whom when the priests perceived counselling the king in this manner, they were not content therewith, and would faine been revenged on thir lords and gentlemen, whom they believed were counsellors of the king to go to England to meet with his uncle the king of England, whilk they desired on no ways should be done; because they were fleyed that the thing should come to passe which is practised now already: And therefore devised a subtile mean against the said lords and gentlemen, to put them at discord with their native prince and king, in this manner as after follows; that is to say, they delated by the Grey-friers, and gave up a bill to the king's grace, as hereticks, to the number of thirty-six score of earls, lords, barons, gentlemen, and honest burgeses and craftsmen; and their delation every man at his tail, given out by the Grey-friers unto the bishops, and the bishops delivered

livered the same unto the king, saying to him in this manner: ' Sir, what needs your grace to pass to England for any substance that king HARRY may give you, we shall cause you to find enough at home in your country of Scotland, so that you will do justice, as we shall devise, upon thir hereticks, which we have given you in bill, who are great readers of the Old and New Testaments in English, with other fundry points of delation which we shall give unto you; for we shall take upon us and our consciences, that you may safely have their lands, heritages, possessions and moveable goods, whole in your hands by confiscation, for their wicked lives, and rebellion against the kirk, and our holy father the pope and his authority: Therefore, will you do us justice, we shall put into your hands a hundred thousand pounds of yearly rent, to augment the patrimony of your crown in times coming, and to supply you in your wars against our old enemies of England, or any other nation that will assail your grace. And we desire no more of you, but that you will give us a temporal judge, which we shall devise, that shall execute justice, and put to execution thir wicked hereticks, as we have shewn, to your great honour and profit, and to the pleasure of the kirk, and our holy father the pope, who, we have no doubt, but he will reward you right honestly and richly, for the maintaining of his authority.

The king, hearing thir words and false enticements of thir wicked bishops against God and his servants, nothing moved with the love that he ought to God and to his true barons, but rather affected to covetousness, answered the bishops in this manner, saying, ' My lords, I would fain that ye had justice, that the holy kirk might be defended and the liberty thereof: Therefore name and chuse a judge at your own pleasures, whom ye think will execute justice most sharply and rigorously, for punishing of these hereticks; and I shall command

him,

“him, and give him my power; that whomever ye
 “delate as a heretick, to burn him, and put him to
 “death at your pleasures.”

The bishops and kirk-men, hearing the king’s
 answer, were well contented thereat, and chused
 Sir JAMES HAMILTON the king’s familiar servant;
 for they knew him to be of their own sect, and a
 blood-thirsty man, having no fear of God, but fa-
 vourable to the pope and his religion, more than to
 Christ and his servants: And therefore accepted the
 office very thankfully, and was very rejoiced that
 he should have commanded him in that authority,
 saying to his grace, ‘That he did him never such
 ‘a pleasure as to make him judge criminal to sik
 ‘unhappy hereticks; making a vow to his grace,
 ‘that he should make them hot arses, for his plea-
 ‘sure and the kirk;’ believing well and surely to
 get some profit and gains thereby. But God, of
 his mighty power and grace, stanchd his fury and
 ire, and bloody wand contrary his servants, which
 he thought to have used for pleasure of the priests,
 if God had not stopped his fury: But the mighty
 God seeing the abusion of the king, and the evil
 and fury of his servant Sir JAMES HAMILTON, that
 he being in the first degree and familiarity with his
 prince, God turned the matter so, that, by the ex-
 pectation of man, he was taken and put in doleful
 prison, and soon after shamefully justified, as ye shall
 hear afterwards.

The said Sir JAMES HAMILTON, lord Evandale,
 and principal familiar servant unto the king, then
 standing in his highest degree in the court at that
 time, the king directed him, in the month of April,
 in the year of God one thousand five hundred and
 forty one, to pass to the isle of Rothsay of Bute,
 to reform his castle and palace thereof, that he might
 remain there some times of the year at his pleasure,
 with his court and queen, as pleased him best; and,
 for this cause, gave the said Sir JAMES three thou-
 sand crowns to hire masons for to complete his work
 into the said Rothsay of Bute. And, on the mor-

row hereafter, the king past out of Edinburgh to Falkland; and, as he was riding the way, there came one to him, called JAMES HAMILTON, the sheriff of Linlithgow's son. The king was afeared, and asked what was the motion, seeing that it was so soon in the morning, and no man moving. But the said JAMES answered, 'I have certain things to shew your grace secretly, for well of your own life, concerning the welfare of your own body.' The king turned about and answered the said JAMES, and took a ring off his finger, and gave it to him, and said, 'You shall pass to the Chequer-house, where you shall find the secretary, the master of household, and the treasurer, and shew them thy mind, like as thou would show it to me, and bid them hear thee as I were presently with them myself, and then let them do hereafter as they think good.' With this, the king past forward to the Ferry to pass to Fife; and the said JAMES passed to the Chequer-house as he was commanded, at the hour of nine, and there he found the secretary, the treasurer, the master of household, like as the king had shown to him; and there presented the king's ring and token unto them to hear his mind, like as the king's grace had commanded, as he had been present. The which lords accepted the same, and desired him to show forth his mind, as he could best. Then the said JAMES HAMILTON revealed certain points of treason of Sir JAMES HAMILTON of Draphan; where that he was sundry times bound to slay the king, when he might see opportunity of time; and yet continues still on the same purpose.

Thir foresaid lords hearing this dittay given in by the said Sir JAMES's native cousin and friend, gave it the more credit. When the king's officers had consulted upon this matter foresaid, they consented that they would take the said Sir JAMES HAMILTON, and put him in captivity till they had the king's mind hereupon; and immediately the king's officers past, viz. the treasurer, secretary, and master of household,

and

and took with them the lyon-herald, and passed to the said Sir JAMES HAMILTON's lodging in Edinburgh, where he was lodged, and took him and put him in the castle of Edinburgh, there to remain during the king's will.

When the said Sir JAMES saw that he was put in the castle, not knowing any reasonable cause wherefore, he was heavily commoved at his inputters; and wrote unto the king's grace a letter, declaring to him how he was handled, and put in prison by the king's familiar servants, and his own companions, desiring the king's grace, that he might be relieved out of captivity to speak with his grace. But when the king heard of his inputting, he was not content therewith; and wrote to the captain of the castle to deliver him at his pleasure; shewing to him, that they should have no thank that were his inputters.

But when the secretary, treasurer, and master of household, heard thir words, that the king was not content with the inputting of the said Sir JAMES, they were sore afraid to meddle with a great man, and syne the king's grace not to be contented, thinking that, some day, the same Sir JAMES would quit them a common for their labours, if he obtained the king's pardon at that time: Therefore they passed hastily to the king's grace all three, where he was for the time; and shewed him the terrible dittay given in upon the said Sir JAMES, by his own friend, touching the king's own body; and shewed, if he would thole the same to be unpunished, they said, that they trusted he should not be long alive. So they put the king in such a fray and evil will at the said Sir JAMES, that he came suddenly to Edinburgh, and took him out of the castle, and had him to the Tolbooth, and gave him a fore assize of lords and barons; and there he was convicted of sundry points of treason, and thereafter was headed and quartered, and his lands annexed to the crown. Whereof the country marvelled meikle, that so great a man, being in such authority with his prince, was suddenly deposed and put down by the expectation of any earthly

ly man, thinking that it was but the divine punishment upon the said Sir JAMES HAMILTON; for he was ever a tyrant and a bloodshedder, and a conquerer of other mens heritages, whether he had right to them or not; at last, for pleasure of the bishops and kirk-men, he took in hand, to be judge-criminal to all them that were the servants of God, and read the New Testament.

By this we may see, brethren, that when men stand in the highest degree, and greatest credit amongst men, misknowing their God, they are nearest a fall, as we may see well in the book of God, in comparison of this same history, written in the book of Esther, of Haman and Mordecai. When the said Haman stood in his highest degree with his master king Ahasuerus, and could not be content with his poor brethren the Jews, but he would purchase a decree from his master to put all the foresaid people and servants of God to death, and to confisk their gear to the king's profit; and all this he did for envy of poor Mordecai; because he would not worship him in his authority, contrary to his conscience, therefore he caused prepare a gallows for him of fifty cubits high, to hang him upon; whereon, by the mighty provision of God, and good prayer of his servants, he was hanged himself; and his goods, gear and lands were given to the said Mordecai in escheat. Therefore so fared of the said Sir JAMES HAMILTON; God turned his wrath presently, that he bore upon his brother, in unto himself, that he was deposed, on this manner, as we have shewn; and all the servants of God were saved; by God's mighty power, both from the king and the kirk-men, and the furious rage of this tyrant Sir JAMES HAMILTON. But we will let him rest with God, and return to our purpose and history.

The same year a storm, called the Evil Storm, began the thirteenth day of Zuille, and continued till the tenth of April thereafter.

At this time the king of England came to York, there to receive the king of Scotland, as his promise

was : But the bishops would not suffer the king of Scotland to keep his promise ; whereat the king of England was displeased, and great wars rose upon the borders.

In this mean time, the king of Scotland took great suspicion of his nobles, that, on no ways, he could rest ; thinking ever, that either one or other would deceive him. And, some times of the night, he had great visions in his bed ; for he thought ever, that Sir JAMES HAMILTON whom he had caused justify before, came and fand him sleeping, and pulled a sword forth, and strake at him, and cutted off his right arm ; and thereafter immediately, with the same sword, cutted off his left arm ; and then said to him in this manner, * Thou hast caused slay me wrong-
 * ossly and unjustly ; for I was innocent of the crime
 * that was laid to me : Though I was a sinner against
 * God, yet I failed not to thee. Had I been as good
 * a servant to my lord my God, as I was to thee, I
 * had not died that death : But now, herefore, thou
 * shalt want both thy arms, and remain in sorrowful
 * pain for a while ; and then I will come and strike
 * thine head from thee, that thou mayest want the
 * life.

With this the king awoke out of his sleep in a great fray, and shewed the same unto his secret servants that were about him for the time ; who were therewith displeased and discontent of the king's vision, and impediment in his sleep, thinking that they would have hasty tidings of the same. But, on the morrow hereafter, word came to the king's grace, that the prince was very sick and like to die.

The king, hearing thir tidings, hasted him to St. Andrews to see the manner : But, ere he came, the prince was departed, which was very sorrowful unto him. Notwithstanding, immediately the post came forth of Stirling to the king's grace, shewing him that the duke of Albany, his second son, would not live. Then the king's grace hasted him fast to Stirling to see the manner : But soon by he came there, the duke of Albany departed, with great mourning
 and

and lamentation made for the departing of thir two, both in forty eight hours ; which was very sorrowful unto the king's grace, and also to the queen their mother : But yet this lady gave the king good comfort, and said that they were young enough, they might have more : And so she, within short time, became with child to the king's grace, comforting the nobility of Scotland.

But soon after this, the borders of Scotland began to break, with great herships, both by sea and land. The king of Scotland, seeing this, cast his ingine to set a remedy hereunto ; and sent certain bands of men of war to defend the same, contrary the Englishmen.

Soon after he set a parliament at Edinburgh, the tenth of June, in the year of God one thousand five hundred and forty two ; and there he made a new general revocation of all things that he had done in his less age, that might hurt the liberty and patrimony of his crown : And also he approved and ratified all things that he had done in the amplifying of the liberty of his crown ; and specially of the annexation of the lands, that he had annexed before to the patrimony of the crown, viz. the lands and lordships of the south isles and the north isles, with two Kintyres and their castles, the lands and lordships of the earl of Douglas, the lands and lordships of the earldom of Angus, the lands of Jedward-forest, the lands and lordships of Bothwell, the lands of Tantallon, with all other lands pertaining to the earldom of Angus ; with donations and advocations of benefices ; and sikelike the lands and lordships of Glames ; and also the lands and lordships of Evandale, with the castle of Draphan, with all other lands and possessions pertaining to Sir JAMES HAMILTON, whom he had lately forfaitured before ; and then ratified and annexed the same to the patrimony of the crown, and made an act thereupon, ' That it should not be leisome to
' his successors whatsomever, king, queen, governor,
' or regent, to dispone any of the said lands from the
' patrimony of the crown ; and it should be leisome
to

‘ to the next crowned king to meddle with the fore-
 ‘ said lands, and take them again home to his profit,
 ‘ and liberty of his crown, without any process of
 ‘ law; and that the occupiers and labourers of the
 ‘ same should be constrained to pay the yearly duty
 ‘ and mails of the said lands, notwithstanding their
 ‘ pretended title.’

After thir statutes and laws, the king took a general taxation through all the whole realm, containing five shillings of the pound land (which sum aroise to thirty thousand pounds Scots) to sustain his men of war.

In the year following, the king made his sister's son, the earl of Huntley, lieutenant of the borders, general; and furnished forth with him ten thousand men to defend the said borders, and gave him a counsellor with him, who was a noble and antient lord, named Sir WALTER LINDSAY, knight, of Torphichen, and lord of St. John, who was well befeen and practised in wars in Italy and Spain, and had foughten oft-times with the Turks in defence of the Christians, in company with the lord of the Rhodes; and there he was made knight for his valiant acts; and thereafter came in Scotland and served our king, and had great credit with him, as I have shewn to you before; who gave him the whole guiding and government of his army: Though he made his sister's son, the earl of Huntley, lieutenant; yet he commanded him to do nothing by this nobleman's advice and counsel, whom he commanded to have the vanguard, where-ever the earl fought, or was assailed by the enemies of England, which was hastily thereafter, as I shall shew how. For thir two noblemen past out of Edinburgh to the borders, with ten thousand men, the tenth day of July, the year of God 1542.

Soon after, the English-men, getting wit of their forces, advertised the king of England thereof; who sent to them a great army, who garnished Berwick, Noram and Wark, and skirmished with the Scots the space of a month; but they had little vantage; till, at the last, they took purpose quietly to burn Jedburgh

burgh and Kelfo, where the lieutenant lay and his army; but it was not so quietly provided, but the lieutenant had moyen thereof, by certain spies that knew the English-mens purpose, which was to come in the dawning of the day: But the Scots prevened the time, and past forth about midnight to the fields, and watched starkly the English-men: But, in the break of day, the watches came and shewed the lieutenant, that the English-men were at hand, within the space of three Scottish miles, with ten thousand men in number, arrayed well in three battles. The leaders and governors were the earl of Angus of Scotland, and GEORGE DOUGLAS his brother, who then were banished in England: With them in company were my lord Bowis and his brother, some of the Percies of Northumberland, with Sir RALPH SADLER, Sir BRIAN LATOWN, Sir JOHN WITHRINGTON, Mr HERON, Sir RALPH IVERS, Sir WILLIAM his brother, with many other good captains and soldiers, whom the king of England trusted and gave credit of his army.

Notwithstanding, the lieutenant of Scotland, hearing thir tidings, that the English army were so near, with such men and governors to them as I have shewu, took no fear hereof, but past manfully forward with this army to meet them, and put his men in array and order, as I shall shew you hereafter; giving this noble and antient lord of St. John the van-guard for to guide, viz. a thousand spears, five hundred bows, and hagbutters, which contained two thousand in the whole; and the lieutenant came afterward in the battle, to the number of four thousand spears, two thousand bows, swords and habergeons, which were to the number of six thousand. While, at last, the day-light began to shine, that either of the said armies appeared in others sight; and so the English-men perceived the Scottish army arrayed in their sight, and they not advertised thereof, slacked of their courage, and took purpose immediately to give backs and flee. On the other side, this noble captain lord of St. John perceiving the same, that the English-men,

men, were not able to give battle, cried for swift horses to give the skirmish; with that the Englishmen gave backs and fled, whereon followed the noble lord with all his force, and strake them down, and slew and took many prisoners, to the number of twenty-four-score gentlemen, and ten-score slain. This skirmish and defeat of English-men was from our redemption, one thousand five hundred and forty-two years, in the month of August. There was taken at this skirmish, the lord Bowes and his brother, Mr SADLER, Sir JOHN WITHRINGTON, Mr SALISBURY, Mr HERON, and some of the Percies of Northumberland, with Sir RALPH IVERS, Sir BRIAN LATOUN, and other captains of the borders; they that were slain were but commons.

But thir news hastily came to the king of Scotland, who was well rejoiced at the same, when he heard tell that such a skirmish was betwixt his men and English-men, trusting that he would have peace therefore on the borders, by his present victory; but his belief was deceived: For so soon as the king of England heard thir novels, he was heavily discontented therewith, and vowed to God singularly, that he should have revenge for the same; and, to that effect, sent a herald to Scotland, and gave up truce with the king of Scotland, who was his sister's son, declaring to him, by his herald, if he would not keep his promise nor condition with him, he should put such order to him, as he put to his father; declaring to him, that he had the self-same wand keeping that dang his father; that is to say, he had the duke of Norfolk living, that struck the field of Floudon, and slew his father, with many of the nobles of Scotland.

The king of Scotland, hearing thir words, was heavily commoved at his uncle the king of England, that he should boast him so with the duke of Norfolk, who was his utter enemy, and had done no less to him than he spake. Yet the council of Scotland thought good to send two embassadors to England to the king, to feel his mind, what he was purposed

to do at that time ; and also to see if they might pacify his wrath contrary Scotland at that time : And so the king's grace, with advice of his council, directed away two noblemen as ambassadors to the king of England, his uncle, viz. Mr WILLIAM STUART bishop of Aberdeen, and a noble knight called Sir JAMES LEARMONT of Darcey, and Mr Household to the king's grace of Scotland. Thir two, as fore-said is, were directed with a commission to the king of England, devised by the king and his council.

These ambassadors being thus directed to stay king HARRY's fury, when they came to the court of England could scarcely get presence for a long time ; but were kept still without an answer, till an army of fifty thousand men of the choice of all England was prepared, under the conduct of the duke of Norfolk, who was commanded to pass in Scotland, and cause the king keep his promise, or else give him battle. Further, the king's grace sent a secret writing, written with his own hand, and sealed and closed so straitly as could be devised for opening of the same, that no man should see the same, till it were presented to the king of England's grace, with directions to thir said ambassadors, that no man should know the said writing saving the two kings by their own proper persons ; and requesting the king of England fervently, that he should let no man see the said writing but his own proper person, and that he should write the answer of the said writing again with his own hand to the king of Scotland, like as he had to him, for familiar love and secret betwixt them two.

The ambassadors past out of Scotland, in this manner as I have shewn you, to London to king HARRY ; where they were but thrastly received of the king and council of England at that time ; yet, notwithstanding, they presented their commission from the king and council of Scotland, together with the secret writing presented by Sir JAMES LEARMONT of Darcey, knight, as the king of Scotland's familiar servant, desiring the king's grace of England to keep that writing secret to himself, and that no man should see

see the same but his own body, like as the king his master had given him command: beseeeking the king of England's grace to write the answer of the said writing with his own hand, and close the same, in like manner as the king of Scotland his master had done, for secretness of the king of Scotland. The which the king of England promised to the said Sir JAMES, that no man should see that writing but his own body, and to that he should send the answer thereof as he desired.

This being done, the embassadors past to their lodging; till, on the morrow, the king and council convened, and then sent for the Scottish embassadors to come to the council, like as others did that were embassadors there for the time; such as France, Spain, Denmark, with others that were convened there for their leifom business. But when the council was all set, and every man conform to his degree, and all writings and letters laid on the board, casten abroad to the said lords and council of England to advise with, as it became them, and syne to give an answer thereupon conform to the commonweal and honour of their country; but immediately Sir JAMES LEARMONT of Darcey, knight, who was embassador of Scotland, perceived the king of Scotland's secret writing, that he had presented to the king of England on the night before, with such direction from his master, as I have shown to you, that the said writing should be kept secret betwixt the two kings, the whilk the king of England promised to do as the king of Scotland desired: But when Sir JAMES saw the said writing lying upon the board patent to every man that pleased, that was there for the time, believe well he was very angry with himself, and thought no less than the king of England had failed to his master the king of Scotland, though he durst not openly speak the same in presence of the king and his nobility: But yet this man, being of a bold spirit, could not suffer the matter long to be unregreted to the king; but, so soon as he rose from the board, passed to the king's grace, and fell on his knees, and

said unto the king of England in this manner, as after follows. ‘ Sir, if it please your majesty, if I durst say, with licence and pardon, you have not kept your promise to our master the king of Scotland ; for his secret writing that I presented to you, which you promised to keep to your own self, and that no man should see the same but your own body, which now I see laid open and presented on your board to all men that please to read it.’

The king of England, hearing this man’s complaint and enarration, perceived him to be wise and true in his master’s commission, and so fervent in that cause, answered him in this manner, saying, ‘ My heart, Sir JAMES, I had rather give twenty thousand pounds sterling, ere I failed to my sister’s son the king of Scotland, your master, or break any promise to him, as you allege : And as for your writing that you see yonder open upon the board, no man hath seen it but my own body ; for they that are yonder are my own body, and I the head ; and they are in me, and I in them, in all conclusions and counsels holden or given in England by me, since I was king thereof ; and be you sure that they dare not any of them show any point or jot of my secret to any other, for all the gold in England. And you may assure my sister’s son, the king of Scotland, if he use himself, or the commonwealth of his realm, otherwise, in any secret manner, without the advice of his lords and great men and counsellors, as I do, and make them his own body, and he to be their head, or else he shall have an ill-guided realm, and tyne himself and them both, and misfair the government and guidment of his country and commonweal thereof ; and, at the last, his own self misknow him, and his enemies shall overcome him, when he has most ado : Therefore I would counsel him to discharge all privy counsel, and specially priests and flatterers, who hindred him to speak with me, which he shall know them as evil counsellors at the length.’

So

So the king of England made an end of his communing to the embassadors of Scotland, and gave them no answer at that time, but off-putting, till he had made and prepared his army to come in Scotland with the duke of Norfolk, as ye shall hear thereafter.

The king of Scotland hearing of the news foresaid, and getting word that the king of England was preparing a great army to come to Scotland with the duke of Norfolk, and hearing no answer of his embassadors, incontinent caused make proclamation through all Scotland, to all manner of man betwixt sixty and sixteen, both spiritual and temporal, burgh and land, as well in the far isles as firm land, to compare at Edinburgh with forty days victuals on the Burrow-muir; and further, to pass with the king where he pleased, in defence of the realm, contrary the English-men, which were coming hastily to invade his realm; who came in Scottish-ground the second day of October, which was the third day of the king's convention of his nobility at Falaw: Who convened there with the whole number of his lords and barons, gentlemen and freeholders, and all manner of men betwixt sixty and sixteen, which gave their musters, and were found numbered by the heralds fifty thousand fighting men, by the van-guard, who were with the earl of Huntley for the time, together with the whole borders of Scotland. Of all were counted sixty thousand in number; whereof there were twenty thousand pikes and spears, and twenty thousand with bows and habergeons, and two-handed swords, which was the armour of our Highland-men; and also of artillery and canons, six great culverings, six bastards, six double-falcons, and thirty field-pieces, and forty carts with powder and bullets, and pikes and spears, with all kind of ordnance of munition, which pertained to a prince against his enemies. And, the second day thereafter, they came to Falaw, and marched forward beside Lawder, to a place called the Barlaugh, near the kirk of Lawder; and there came a post from the earl of

Huntley, the king's lieutenant, shewing to him that the duke of Norfolk was coming over Tweed, and sent message to him, desiring battle of the king's majesty, or else to keep his promise that he had made to the king of England.

Of this news the king was wondrous commoved, and caused the lords to assemble together to a council holden at Lawder-kirk, and the king shewed to them his mind by two of his wisest lords: for he came not himself to that convention, but directed his mind to them, as after follows; that is to say, he desired of his lords, that he might be revenged of the duke of Norfolk his enemy, who was coming in Scotland to invade him, at the king of England's command, with his whole puissance and ordnance against him.

Upon this the lords took to be advised, and to give the king's grace an answer thereupon. The lords falling in a disputation in this manner, saying amongst themselves, that they could not pass forward at that time with their honour and conscience, because of the band that was made betwixt the king of England and the king of Scotland; the which band and promise was sealed with the great seal of Scotland, and subscribed with their own hands; but yet they promised to the king, if the duke of Norfolk came forward to invade their native country, they would defend; but they would not pass in England at that time.

This answer was sent to the king by the whole lords of the council, born and repeated by the earl of Glencairn. But when the king heard this answer, he was no ways contented. But, in this mean time, a watch came, and shewed the king that the duke of Norfolk was past back again over Tweed, and was camped on English ground.

Of this news the king was very desirous to have followed him in England, and to fight with him; but the lords would consent, on no ways, thereunto, nor give their counsel that the king should go any further at that time, considering that the duke of Norfolk had done no skaith in Scotland at that time

time; neither burnt, nor herried, nor destroyed any town: Therefore they had the less will to follow him on English ground, to do him any skaith, tho' the king was very ardent thereunto. Then the lords, seeing that the king's mind could not be restrained from battle, and in special from battle in English ground, they laid their heads together in council, that they would not fight at that time for the king: For there was some of them that said, he was a better priests king than he was theirs, and used more of the priests counsel than he did of theirs. Therefore they had no heart to fight with him in battle; but said it were more meritorious to hang all his secret servants, and his familiar counsellors, that gave him such counsel contrary the welfare of his realm.

This was concluded among themselves, and declared unto the king by some of their counsel. But when the king's grace was advertised hereof, and knew well their minds, he made no longer tarry, but past hastily, with his household and secret servants, to Edinburgh. But the council, and all the whole army, continued still, till on the morrow that they got sure word that the duke of Norfolk was retired homeward in England; and then the lords pulled up their pavilions, and returned homeward. Then the king of Scotland grew very commoved at the lords, because they would not pass in England to fight with him against the duke of Norfolk, who had slain his father at Floudon; and vowed singularly, that he should cause them pass in England, and fight, or else flee and shame themselves, or else Scotland should not hold him and them both: And, in his high rage and fury, made a proclamation to all lords, barons, gentlemen and freeholders, to be in readiness, within twenty-four hours warning, to follow the king where he pleased. So, on the fifteenth day of November, the king past to Peebles, and made warning to all the lords and gentlemen of Scotland to follow him, and meet him at Peebles, and there to pass with him where he

he pleased: For incontinent he passed to Moffat, and syne to the water of Elk; and then sent in his lords and gentlemen into England to burn, herry and waste the country; which was very sore against the lords counsel, and will, and would, on no ways, take the matter on hand, nor yet consent that the king should pass there himself, to use such rigour or malice to his mother-brother the king of England.

When the king saw that his lords would, on no ways, please to pass forward, nor had no will to serve his appetite, he caused to make a proclamation in the midst of his army, and made OLIVER SINCLAIR, one of his familiar servants, lieutenant over the said army; and commanded them straitly by the heralds all to obey the said OLIVER, and pass with him where he pleased, as they would do with the king's own body: And the king passed himself a little from the army, to the castle of Lochmaben, to remain there to see what success came of his enterprize. But the lords and nobility of Scotland seeing his wilful misgovernment toward his own commonwealth of Scotland, and that he would not use their counsel thercinto; but he abused them so, that, in the place of great earls and lords, that should have been lieutenant and governor of his army, or battle at this time, he chused one of his courtiers to be governor of his army, and to be lieutenant, and discharged great earls and lords which had it before; such as, the earl of Huntley, the lord of Maxwell, with other great men on the borders: Their lords seeing this, consulted together, and said they would, on no ways, fight under OLIVER SINCLAIR's banner, for they knew him not for a governor or lieutenant to them; and concluded whole in one purpose, that they had rather be taken and had to king HARRY, than for to abide the king's fury in Scotland, or tyranny wrought on them by counsel of the priests and courtiers: For the priests, as I have shewn you before, abused the king's grace so, that they put great dissension betwixt:

twixt him and his lords, and caused him understand, that they were all hereticks, and readers of the Old and New Testament : And therefore were worthy to be burnt, and their lands and goods confiscate and brought to the king's profit. Of this the courtiers were well contented, and many of them consented hereunto, because they were the bishop's pensioners ; thinking, that if such things came forward, they would get some casualty thereby.

Thus the king was abused, and tint many of the hearts of all his lords ; for he gave them no credit, and they hoped no good in his hands : Therefore they tint hearts, and had no will to raise fire in England. But the Englishmen, on the other side, seeing so great an army of Scotland coming upon them so hastily, which was to the number of fifteen thousand gentlemen, by borderers, coming in good array like as they would have foughten ; at this the Englishmen were sore aghast at the coming of the Scottish-men so hastily ; and then, without any manner of warning, they convened themselves together, that they might be advised. But their number was but few and small to the respect of Scottish-men ; yet they were all borderers, and could ride and prick well, and held the Scottish-men in pinging by their pricking and skirmishing, till the night came down on them ; and they were in such strait ground, where they knew not the passages, that they could scanty retire in order as they should have done, and they had no vivers, horse-meat nor man's-meat, to tarry that night, nor yet guides to pass through the passages, which they might safely ridden ; but they retired, uncunningly, to a part called The Stagmire, where there was no passage ; and syne to the water of Esk ; and there the sea was in, and the water was four fathom deep, where the host came over ; yet, in all the straits, they had no skaith of English-men : But, at the last, they came to a place called, The Solway-Moss, where-through neither horse nor man might pass, and there
laired

laired all their horse, and mischieved them, that force it was to take them to their feet : And then the English-men, seeing the Scots at that strait, cried with so hideous shouts and cries, that they put such a fear to the Scots, that they brake and fled ; and and there were many of them taken by the English-men, and had in England. So the host was dispersed and scattered abroad, and the night was growing mirk upon them, that they knew not where they were, nor a Scottish-man by an English-man : And so, by this unhappy chance and misgovernment of the Scottish-men, there were many Scottish-men taken, and had into England as prisoners, and specially the great lords, and barons, and courtiers were taken there, and had to London to king HARRY, who were well entertained there, as after I shall shew you ; but there were few slain, neither by English nor Scots, but twenty-five persons, viz. ten Scottish-men and fifteen English-men.

Their news coming to the king of Scotland, where he was for the time, viz. in the castle of Lochmaben, shewing to him how his lords were taken, and his army defeat ; then the king grew wondrous sorrowful and peevish in his heart, seeing no good success come to him, neither by chance nor fortune, against his enemies. Then he began to remord in his conscience, and thought the government of his life toward his God had been the principal cause hereof, remembring himself, that he had broken promise to his uncle the king of England ; and also had tint the hearts of all his nobles, through evil counsel and false flattering of his bishops, and the privy counsel of his courtiers, not regarding his wise lords counsel : He knew well that this cause had the wyte of his misgovernment and shameful chance, that he had sustained in that journey ; where-thro' he took such melancholy and displeasure, that no comfort, on no ways, by no godly man, might satisfy him, nor bring him to rest. He passed to Edinburgh, and there remained eight days, with great dolour and lamentation for the tinsel and shame of

of his lieges, which was, by misfortune and evil government brought to shame and dishonour; which put the king's grace in despair that he could never recover his honour again.

This being done, the king past out of Holy-rood-house to Falkland, and there became heavy and dolorous, that he never ate nor drank that had digestion; and so he became vehement sick, that no man had hope of his life. Then he sent for certain of his lords, both spiritual and temporal, to have their counsel; but, ere they came, he was nearhand strangled to death by extreme melancholy.

By this the post came to the king out of Linlithgow, shewing to him good tidings, that the queen was delivered. The king enquired, whether it was a man-child or a woman. The messenger said, 'It is a fair daughter.' The king answered, 'Adieu, farewell, it came with a lass, and it will pass with a lass.' And so he recommended himself to the mercy of Almighty God, and spake little from that time forth, but turned his back unto his lords, and his face unto the wall.

At this time, DAVID BEATON cardinal of Scotland, standing in presence of the king, seeing him begin to fail of his strength and natural speech, held a throch of paper to his grace, and caused him to subscribe the same; wherein the said cardinal wrote what pleased him for his own particular well, thinking to have authority and preheminance in the government of the country: But we may know hereby the king's legacy was very short; for in this manner he departed, as after I shall shew you. He turned him upon his back, and looked, and beheld all his nobles and lords about him, and gave a little smile of laughter, syne kissed his hand, and offered the same to all his nobles round about him; thereafter held up his hands to God, and yielded his spirit to God.

This noble prince, if he would have used the counsel of his wise lords and godly men, and used his body after their counsel, he might have lived,
by

by nature and expectation of man, forty years longer than he did: But he departed the thirty-first year of his age, the twenty-ninth of his reign, in the year of God one thousand five hundred and forty-two, the twentieth day of December, at Falkland, in his own palace, and that very quietly: For few were at his departing, except the cardinal, the earl of Argyle, the earl of Rothes, the lord Erskine, the lord Lindsay, the doctor, Mr MICHAEL DURIE, Sir DAVID LINDSAY of The Mont, lyonherald, the laird of Grange, ANDREW WOOD of Largo, NORMAN LESLY, master of Rothes; the rest were but his own secret servants. And this noble prince, if he would have received the counsel of his wise and godly lords, and would have kept his body from harlotry, and had left the evil counsel of his papists, bishops and greedy courtiers, he had been the most noble prince that ever rang in the realm of Scotland: For he was full of policy and honesty at his beginning, and did many good acts in his realms, as, bigging of palaces and castles, and furnishing the realm with good artillery, with all other kind of weapons, as, harness, picks, and spears, and all other provision for his realm, as accords for a king and the commonwealth of his realm. But from time he was abused with papistry, and would not suffer the word of God to have free passage in his realm, whereof he would never hear, because it teaches sinners to repentance and amendment of life, and specially idolaters and adulterers; and the said king, knowing himself to be one of those, he had the less will thereof, because it accused his conscience, if the word had been truly preached. And another cause there was, the great profit that the bishops gave to him, by the pope's men, to defend the authority of the kirk-men's liberty, that he, abused through covetousness, consented to their wicked and evil counsel against the Evangel of Jesus Christ, which was the principal cause of his evil success in his latter days: For the bishops, priests and friers caused him understand, that he might

might take his pleasure through all Scotland of what gentlewoman he pleased, whether she were married or unmarried; and so to spend his body upon them as he pleased, contrary the commandment of God; they put him in such belief, that they should not impute to him any sin, so he used their counsel, and defended their liberty of the holy kirk. So they caused him both to use idolatry and adultery; viz. idolatry, in stopping of Christ's Evangel, authorizing the mass and pilgrimage, with other vain superstition; and adultery, in using other mens wives. So they abused this noble prince, that he tint the favour of God, and nobles of his realm; whereat he took great displeasure and melancholy, whereby he was strangled to death, in manner as I have shewn you before. Always this prince left meikle riches behind him, both of gold, silver, jewels, horses and ships, with many more moveables, which never came to count to any of his own, as is known to the whole nobility and lieges of Scotland

But we will let him rest with God, and return to our history, giving a general admonition to all kings, princes, or governors, or any that bruiks authority for the time, that they begin at Almighty God, to set forth his glory into the realm; viz. to cause preach the word of God truly to the people, and cause an ecclesiastical discipline to be used by the ministers thereof. Next, cause visit and provide for the poor, and bring up the youth at schools, and see that the patrimony of God's kirk be well paid by the temporal men that have it in their hands; and that it be spent in this manner by them that take it up, which is the will of God, pronounced by the mouth of his prophet Malachi, in the third chapter. This being done, God first served, his glory set forward, then use the civil order conform to a godly king; that is to say, to minister justice equally to great and small, poor and rich, and reward them that do good, and punish them that do evil; and treat and honour the true lords of the

realm who are godly and honest, and use their counsel; and, in like manner, punish and correct the greedy and covetous lords and barons who are oppressors of their neighbours, disobedient both to God and their prince. And, attour all things, let princes and governors, or whosomever that bruiketh authority, keep his body clean and undefiled, and pure from all harlotry and avarice; in so doing, obeying God, as I have spoken, I have no doubt but God shall cause his subjects to obey him, in all godly and honest affairs, according to the honour of God, and the welfare of his realm, as I have shewn to you before: Therefore I beseeke God, of his mercy, to instruct, maintain and illuminate the hearts of all Christian kings, to consider the admonition that I have forespoken to their instruction. Amen.

T H E

T H E
H I S T O R Y
O F
Q U E E N M A R Y.

IN the year of our Lord one thousand five hundred and forty-three, in the month of January, many of our lords and barons of Scotland were lying captive in England, being taken at Solway-moss, and were kindly entertained by king HENRY. At which time word came to England of the death of king JAMES V. whereat king HARRY sighed, saying, 'Wo is me, for there will never reign in Scotland a king so fit to me, neither whom I favoured so much, or so affectuously wished for his conference, which would have turned to joy and benefit to us both, if he had not been hindered by evil counsel.' But when the messenger told him that the Scottish queen was delivered of a daughter, and no more succession left by the king, he then began to conjecture that which after came to pass, that, in regard of the facility of the earl of Arran, next heir to the crown, by the kirkmens counsel, and the queen's procurement, being a French woman, the lords of Scotland would be induced to put this young queen in the hands of the French, rather than his, albeit she was so near of his blood: Wherefore he set himself, by all means, to bring the two realms to an alliance, and so to unity, peace and concord. To this effect, he used the lords of Scotland, his captives, very friendly,

and bountifully dismissed them, desiring nothing of them, but that they would stand his friends, and do their best in the council of Scotland, when time should offer occasion, to bring both the realms to an union, their honours and allegiance safe. The lords, having promised this much, returned home the twenty-fifth day of January, one thousand five hundred and forty three.

Meanwhile, the cardinal, seeing the earl of Arran, who was nearest of the blood-royal, to be a facile and simple man, unmeet for government (as he thought) set himself to purchase that room of authority and government of the state, during the minority of the princess, by the means especially of the queen-mother, the earl of Argyle, the lord Seaton, and other his friends; pretending the king's testament and latter-will, wherein he himself had been appointed governor of the realm, and tutor to the young queen. The queen-mother and lords of the French faction favoured him highly: But the earl of Arran, by the advice of his friends, disdaining to be stopt of his right by a priest, joined himself with the earl of Angus, returning from England after fifteen years banishment, knowing him and his brother Sir GEORGE to be men of great action and experience; whereof the queen and her faction were not well content. Hereupon both parties made all the friendship they could against the next convention of the estates, which was holden at Edinburgh, the tenth day of February, in the year foresaid.

In the which convention, JAMES HAMILTON, earl of Arran, was chosen protector and governor of Scotland; the cardinal and his faction appealing from this election, and asking instruments thereupon. There came also to this convention a herald from the king of England, desiring a safe conduct for an ambassador to treat with the governor anent the affairs betwixt the two realms. Which desire was granted by the advice of the governor's counsel. There was also a herald directed to Eng-
land

land for re-delivery of the garter and order of St. George, in the which JAMES, the late king of Scots, had been invested by his uncle king HARRY, who rewarded the herald richly, and sent an embassador after him, named Mr Sadler, whom the governor received very kindly. He stayed three months in Scotland, labouring for a marriage betwixt the prince of England and princefs of Scotland, and uniting of the two realms in perpetual friendship; whereunto the governor and his council hastily assented, and bound up the same most amply, under the interchange of the great seals of Scotland and England. But the cardinal, the kirk-men, the queen-mother, and all the French faction, being enraged hereat, laboured so earnestly in the contrary, that the marriage was retreated in plain parliament; the bishops also, and other kirk-men, and the citizens of Edinburgh, used the English embassador very dishonourably: Whereby king HARRY being justly irritate, sent an army by sea, which landed at Granton-Grange west by Leith, the third of May, in the year foresaid, to the number of forty thousand men; who, having remained certain days in Leith, passed up to Edinburgh, and burnt the town, and the whole kirks thereof, with the king's palace of Holy-rood-house. They shot also at the castle; but the garrison ishing forth and skirmishing with them, they were forced to retire, leaving some of their ordnance behind them, which yet remaineth in Scotland; some part also they broke. They took also the castle of Craigmillar, spoiled it, and burnt it, with the villages adjacent to Edinburgh; and, at their departure, burnt the town of Leith, revenging the dishonour done to their embassador.

After their departure, the lords held a convention; and considering that the cardinal had been the occasion of breaking the amity betwixt the two realms, and of the mischief ensuing thereupon, resolved to put him in prison; and while he was sitting at table in the council, they caused officers lay hands upon him, and put him in a secret chamber; and

thereafter delivered him in keeping to my lord Sea-ton: But this lord, being partly moved with the queen's favour, partly allured by great gifts of gold and silver, let him escape: So that he raged more furiously than before, with all contempt of the authority. He procured, by secret messages, the earl of Lenox to come home from France, moved the more by the queen's supplication, promising him the marriage of the queen-mother, and governorship of the realm, in place of the earl of Arran, whom he undertook to prove to be a bastard. The French king, notwithstanding he highly esteemed the earl of Lenox; yet, upon these reasons, he dismissed him, with promises of assistance.

The governor, to prevent this storm, resolved to get the young queen in his hands. But the cardinal advertised thereof, with great gifts of gold, drew the earl of Argyle, and other noblemen, to his faction; who assembling to the number of ten thousand men, past to Linlithgow, where the queen-mother and her daughter were. The nobility also being unwilling to put the young queen in the hands of him who was nearest heir to the crown, at length it was accorded, That four indifferent noblemen, the lords Graham, Lindsay, Erskine, and Livingstone, should receive the young queen and her mother, and keep the princess in the castle of Stirling, as they would be answerable to God and the estates of the kingdom, upon the pain of forfaiture, till further order were taken. Hereupon the cardinal and governor scaled their armies, and met in Linlithgow; and by the queen-mother's mediation, were finally agreed; and on the morn, past to Stirling with the young queen, to whom the whole lords of Scotland assembling, the queen was crowned the twentieth day of August, in the year foresaid, with great solemnity.

When the earl of Lenox, who had been received by the cardinal with many flattering words, understood that the governor and he were agreed upon all things, repented himself of his rash enterprize. The cardinal,

cardinal, as he favoured the governor after his reconciliation, as being his near kinsman, son to his mother's sister; so he would gladly have been rid of the earl of Lenox with his credit: Wherefore he moved the queen-mother to entertain him tenderly, and hold him in hope of her marriage, and so pacify him, till time might work further.

The earl of Bothwel, at the same time, being a gallant young nobleman, hoped for the marriage of the queen-mother: So that these two earls daily frequented the court, striving in magnificence of apparel, and in all courtly games, the one to exceed the other, especially in the queen's sight. But the earl of Lenox, being well bred in the wars of France, surpassed the other, both in ability of body, and dexterity of exercise. He was of a strong body, well proportionate, of a sweet and manly visage, straight in stature, and pleasant in behaviour. Bothwel was fair and whitely, something hanging-shouldered and going forward; but of a gentle and humane countenance. These two being fed with fair words for a time, at length the earl Bothwel, having spent very much, was forced to retire. The earl of Lenox urged the queen and cardinal to perform their promise, or else to refund his losses by his enterprize, and restore him whence they had brought him. Of which desire they were not content. Mean while captain JAMES STUART of Cardonnock brought thirty thousand crowns from the French king, for furthering of the earl of Lenox his affairs. The queen and cardinal had no will that he should pass out of Scotland, but to keep him still as an awband above the governor's head; and therefore they put him off with fair promises; Wherewith, at length, being irritate, he resolved to be avenged of their dissimulation; and, returning home, he solicited the earl of Angus, the earl of Glencairn, and the whole Cuninghams, the laird of Tillibardin, with the whole Murrays, with the name of Stuart, and all his own kinsmen and friends, to the number of twelve thousand men; and came boldly to Edinburgh where the
cardinal

cardinal and governor were, and encamped betwixt Leith and Edinburgh, provoking them to battle, or else to keep promise. The cardinal knowing him to be a skilled warrior, and that he had many valiant men in his company, kept himself quiet; and by mediators, practised so cunningly with the earl of Angus that he was moved to deal with Lenox to skale his army, and to expect that the queen and cardinal would give him full satisfaction; and having awaited three or four days, and seeing no appearance of battle, although he was discontent with the motion, yet was constrained to hearken to the earl of Angus's counsel. Thereafter perceiving himself to be deluded on all hands, and secret plots contrived against him, hearing that there was a ship landed at Dumbarton from France, with thirty thousand crowns, directed to him, to be distributed by the advice of the queen and cardinal, he intercepted the same, and furnished the castle of Glasgow with men and munition. Hereat the queen and cardinal, being highly displeased, persuaded the governor to raise an army, and besiege the castle of Glasgow, where they thought to find the earl of Lenox.

The eighth day of March, one thousand five hundred and forty four, the governor came to Glasgow with twelve thousand men bringing sundry cannons, and other artillery, from Edinburgh. The siege lasted ten days, till all their powder and bullets were spent; Therefore they practised with the keepers of the castle to yield it, promising great rewards to them, and all who were with them. The keepers were JOHN STUART and WILLIAM, being sons to the abbot Dryburgh; who knowing of no relief, were glad of the offer, and yielded the castle to the governor. Notwithstanding, the two brethren foresaid were imprisoned during the governor's pleasure; and all the rest were immediately hanged. The earl himself, being summoned, was put to the horn for non-compearance, and thereafter forfaitured. So that he, seeing no refuge in Scotland, and hearing that the French king, being possessed by the calumnies of his unfriends,

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was alienated from him, shortly thereafter he retired into England, where he was kindly entertained by king HENRY; who gave him in marriage the lady MARGARET DOUGLAS, begotten upon his sister queen MARGARET by ARCHIBALD earl of Angus.

In the next parliament, the earl's whole vassals and followers were faulted; for whose compositions the governor obtained great sums of money; howbeit, he lost their hearts for his extreme rigour. The cardinal also so missed the governor, that no peace could be bound up with England, neither durst any of the barons give any free or profitable counsel in the public affairs; yea, not so much as come to court, for their own affairs, without the cardinal's assurance. The English-men, knowing this, entered in, both by the east and west marches, and utterly spoiled and destroyed all before them, with great slaughter of the inhabitants. So that many were forced to wear the red cross, and swear allegiance to England. This continued all the summer, till winter came on; at which time, having destroyed Teviotdale and Merse, they took the abbey of Coldingham, and laid all waste as far as Dunbar.

The governor, being hereby forced to enterprize something, made proclamations for all men to come, provided with eight days victuals, to attend the governor. So, assembling about twelve thousand men, he passed to Coldingham, having with him the earls of Angus and Bothwell, the lords Erskine, Drummond and Gray, with many other nobles: But the weather being extreme cold in the winter season, and the army standing all night on foot in battle array, battering the house with their cannon, without effecting any thing; and a rumour being spread about the break of day, that the English army was coming at hand to the rescue; the governor, being jealous of many of the noblemen about him, and fearing to be delivered by them into the hands of the English, posted back to Dunbar, leaving the queen's ordnance to the danger of the enemy; so that some gave counsel to leave them, others to break them, that they might

might be unprofitable to the English. But the earl of Angus seeing the host disbanding, said, 'God forbid that I should either break the queen's cannon, or leave them to the enemy, so long as I may breathe; and hear I vow to God, that either I shall restore them home in safety, or else die in their defence.' Herewith alighting on foot, with his brother and friends, he went forward in order of battle, and convoyed the artillery safely to Dunbar; for the English, who came fast forward to encounter the Scots in their retreat, seeing the earl of Angus return in so good order, and knowing his valour and resolution, durst attempt nothing. Hereby the earl of Angus purchased great honour.

The English-men, with Sir RALPH IVERS and Sir BRIAN LATOUN, general and lieutenant of their army, grew so proud of the victory, that they, accounting the whole lands of Scotland by-south Edinburgh to be now fully conquered, passed to the court to be rewarded for so great service. King HARRY, by the persuation of the duke of Norfolk, condescended to them, that, seeing they had conquered the Merse and Teviotdale, being two most populous and fertile countries in these quarters of Britain, and had brought all the people and inhabitants to the English obedience (although that conquest had stood the king above thirty thousand pounds sterling) yet he would by charter and investment under the great seal of England, give to these two noblemen these two sheriffdoms, with the countries adjacent, erected in two lordships: 'For (said the duke) if indeed they have fully conquered these countries, and brought them under your obedience, they are worthy of so great a reward; and besides, all men shall hereby see how great respect your majesty hath to valiant spirits; and hereby ye shall oblige these two noblemen to defend these lands by all means possible.' The king moreover gave them three thousand men; upon his own charges, for year and day, to assist them in possession of their conquest, beside borderers, who would join with them.

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These two captains, being glad of their good success, hastened them to come and take seisin of their new conquest; and, upon the eighth day of March, they came to Jedburgh, with an army of five thousand men, purposing to take seisin of the Merse and Teviotdale; thereafter to come to Haddington, and to Edinburgh, if they were not stopt.

The earl of Angus, seeing no order taken for resistance, came to the governor, and sharply reprov'd him, that he, using the only counsel of the cardinal and priests, suffered the enemy to prevail so far. If ye continue thus, said he, you will be shortly thrust out of all Scotland, or else forced to submit yourself as tributary to England. Whereas, if you would follow the counsel of the nobility, we might be able to defend our own, and do the English one ill turn for another; and albeit you shall lie aside, yet I here avow to spend my life in the quarrel; and, if they come to take seisin in my lands, I shall bear them witness to it, and perhaps write them an instrument with sharp pens and red ink. And whereas now, being misguided by the evil counsel of the cardinal and kirk-men, you are in suspicion of me and other of the nobility; yet, if you will follow our counsel at this time, we shall, God willing, shew your grace a real demonstration of the contrary, and take a part ourselves in our own conclusions: Whereas your kirk-men, when they have brought great trouble on the realm, were never present at the off-putting thereof. Go on therefore resolutely, and I shall adventure before you in all hazards; for I had rather die with honour in the defence of my country and heritage, than live to see the same brought to bondage.

The governor, animated with these speeches, by the earl's advice, resolved to go forward against the enemy with the small forces which were about them (the earl and he both not exceeding three hundred horse in company) and sent proclamations to all the nobility and gentry, that were near to follow him.

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The enemies were come that same night to Jedburgh, as we have said; and hearing that the governor was coming to lodge in Melrose with so small a company, they thought all was their own, and came forward, in the night, to intrap the governor in his lodging; yet he, being advertised, retired back above the bridge of Melrose, to a place called the Shiels, and lodged there, by the advice of the earl of Angus, and sent forth trumpets to advertise the neighbour gentlemen to meet the governor at Gallasheels in all haste. The enemy, missing the governor, spoiled Melrose, and returned towards Jedburgh. Mean time NORMAN LESLY, master of Rothies, and the lord Lindsay's servants, and the neighbour barons; the laird of Lochlevin also, and the gentlemen of the west end of Fife, to the number of twelve score able men, having ridden all that night, met the governor at Gathenside, foreanent Melrose; whereof he was very glad: And seeing the English men tarrying a little at Liberton's cross to view the Scottish-mens array, and understand their intent; the Scots marched south-west from Melrose, round about Ancram, pretending as if they minded not to meddle with the English; who, marching towards Jedburgh, staid long at the Sandy case-way, it being so narrow that they could not march but two a-front. Meanwhile the laird of Buccleugh came posting to the governor, shewing him that his whole followers were coming, with all speed, within six miles. He counselled the governor to send back all the horse to a hill where the artillery stood, and to draw themselves into a low place, out of the English-mens sight; whereby the English-men would be persuaded that they were fled, and would follow them without order: Which fell out accordingly. For the English-men, believing that the Scots fled, pursued them so fast, that they were all out of breath. The first battle, led by Sir BRIAN LATOUN and Sir ROBERT BOWIS, had, in the midst of the battle, a thousand spears; and, on their right wing, five hundred hagbutters, and on their left, five hundred bows. Sir RALPH IVERS led the

the great battle, containing a thousand spears, a thousand hagbutters, and as many bows. The Scots, at the beginning, had only three hundred men with the governor, and two hundred with the earl of Angus. The English halted them to prevent the flight of the Scots, thinking, by one encounter, to put an end to the war. But they, lighting on the ambush of the Scots, all wearied, and out of breath, albeit they were discouraged, yet, contemning the fewness of their number, set upon them. The Scots had providently gotten the advantage both of the wind and sun (being both in the south-west) so that the sunbeams and smoke of the powder took all sight from the English; besides, the Scottish-men's spears were an ell longer than the English; whereby the English were born down before they could reach at the Scots; who, encountering them most violently, beat back the van-guard upon the great battle; and so, disordering both, put them to flight, killing their two leaders, Sir RALPH IVERS and Sir BRIAN LATOUN, and a great number of gentlemen and common soldiers, to the number of five hundred; with the loss of two Scottish-men, slain rakelessly by their own artillery. There were taken a thousand, whereof eighty were gentlemen. The governor, at night, returning to his standard, kneeled down, and gave solemn thanks to God for the unexpected victory; the like whereof hath scarcely been read of, that so small a number discomfited so great a host, and so well appointed. The chief of the captives were, Mr HOWARD the queen's uncle, Mr HUTCHISON mayor of York, the lord BOWIS, Sir JOHN WITHRINGTON, many of the HERONS and SELLERS, and other gentlemen of the borders, and knights of great esteem. This battle was foughten in Teviotdale, at Ancram-muir, the ninth of March, one thousand five hundred and forty-five.

After the battle, the governor calling for the earl of Angus, highly commended his valour, resolution and wisdom; and thanked Sir GEORGE DOUGLAS, his brother, for his valiant service, assuring them,

that that day's service had cleared them of all aspersions of disloyalty, and love to England, laid upon them by their enemies. He thanked the laird of Buccleugh also for his wise and fortunate counsel. He gave thanks also to the master of Rothes, the laird of Lochlevin, and the rest of all the gentlemen of quality, acknowledging their honourable deservings, to their perpetual praise. Thereafter they rode altogether towards Jedburgh; and finding on the fields the dead bodies of Sir RALPH IVERS, and Sir BRIAN LATOUN, he commanded them to be buried, of their corps to be given to their friends, saying, 'Their taking of Iselin has been no less unfortunate than unformal.' They supped that night in Jedburgh, upon the provision that had been made for the English-men; and, the next day, caused a herald to proclaim, that all the lands of Scotland, which had been conquered by king HARRY, were now redeemed by the help of God: And therefore, that all that had been forced to take on the red cross, as subjects to England, should now renounce the same, and return to their due allegiance to the crown of Scotland, and have a remission for all by-gones. Some counselled the governor to ride forward to Wark and Norham, which were forsaken by the English-men for fear: But, in regard of the small number, and want of artillery, he returned to Edinburgh.

King HARRY, hearing of this discomfiture, was highly discontent; but he was encouraged by the duke of Norfolk, putting him in mind of the variable success of battles, according to God's providence; that, as the Scots had gotten the better now, so the next (as oft-times before) should fall to them; that there were men enough to the fore in England. Hereby the king being confirmed, without any fear of the Scots, past forward to France to have his pension.

There was an ambassador, at this time, sent from Scotland to France, to shew the king what had befallen, and to crave supply from him against the king of England, whom they expected to come in revenge of

of this overthrow. This ambassador had also commission to accuse the earl of Lenox, that he had broken the king's direction; especially in the distribution of the money which the king had sent, and to lay many other false accusations to his charge, to make him odious to the French king.

The king of France, informed of the king of England's enterprize against him, sent, notwithstanding, Monsieur Montgomery de Lorge, with a hundred men at arms, and three thousand footmen, to confirm the Scottish-men, and to raise an army in Scotland, to draw back the English king out of France, and to try the cause of the earl of Lenox his banishment. He landed in Scotland the ninth day of July, in the year foresaid; and, shewing his letters to the council and governor, procured an army of the best of the nobility and gentry, to be hastily levied, to the number of fifteen thousand men; who, convening at Haddington, joined with the French, and past forward to Bargany-haugh, over-against Wark, where they encamped the space of ten days, and sending forth, every day, a part of the host, they wasted and spoiled all within six miles. The Frenchmen and my lord Hume dealt earnestly with the governor to pass over Tweed, and besiege Wark; but he refused, in respect he was destitute of great artillery, and other necessities for a siege. So the army disbanded the twelfth day of August, one thousand five hundred and forty five. Some of the Frenchmen stayed in Edinburgh, some were sent to St. Andrews to winter.

Monsieur de Lorge went to Stirling to be informed anent the earl of Lenox his banishment; and, having received clear information of all things by such as knew the matter perfectly, he sharply reproved the cardinal, that, contrary his promises whereby he allured that young nobleman to leave France, where he lived in great credit, he had mocked and disappointed him. Hereupon the cardinal, enraged, after hot words, gave Monsieur de Lorge a lie before the queen's presence; who immediately re-

turned the cardinal a box on the ear; and, if other men had not parted them, he had presently stabbed him, called him False Whore's Son Priest, who had made the French king to spend his money in vain; and, by his false delations, had put the earl out of his favour. And albeit the queen entreated the cardinal to give place for a time, till she might reconcile the matter; yet Monsieur de Lorge would never consent thereto, nor would come in the town or palace where the cardinal was. But diverse of his men were kindly entreated and propined with horses and hawks in St. Andrews, till much of the winter was past, at what time he returned home with them to France.

The cardinal, perceiving his favour with the queen and governor to be diminished, and the earl of Angus to be highly advanced for his valour and wisdom, he set his intent to bind the governor to his opinion, and procured his eldest son, as also my lord Ruthven, and sundry other gentlemen their sons to be given him to be kept at St. Andrews, as hostages and pledges, that the governor should be ruled by the cardinal in all affairs of the state. To this effect, he invited him to St. Andrews to Yule, where he entertained him most sumptuously the space of twenty days. After which he held a council with the clergy, in the Black friers at Edinburgh, the twenty sixth of January, one thousand five hundred and forty-six, for establishing the antient liberty of the kirk; and reformation of some notorious faults of the clergy.

These purposes taking small effect, they were informed that Mr GEORGE WISHEART, a preacher of the gospel, was in the laird of Ormiston's house; within seven miles to Edinburgh. They, having a special malice against him, sent to apprehend him. But the laird of Ormiston made many shifts and delays to get him convoyed away safe. The cardinal, informed hereof, forced the governor against his will, to ride forth with him about midnight, and closed the house round about. The laird, notwithstanding, refused to deliver him, till the earl of Bothwell came

came and was cautioner, upon his faith and honour, to keep him skaitheless. Nevertheless, this facile earl was enticed by the cardinal to render him into his hands; who carried him to St. Andrews, and imprisoned him in the sea-tower. But, from that time forth, the earl Bothwel prospered never, neither any of his affairs.

In the end of February, the queen, governor, cardinal and lords, held a convention in St. Johnstoun. There they caused hang four honest men for eating of a goose on Friday; and drowned a young woman, because she refused to pray to our lady in her birth. These sentences being pronounced by the earl of Argyll, justice-general, at the cardinal's instigation, from that day to his death, he was ever diseased, both in body and spirit.

In a convention of the lords, which followed shortly thereafter at Edinburgh, divers of the lords plotted the cardinal's death, for his tyranny and persecution of God's servants; but he escaped, through the great confluence of people, and specially the barons of Fife. At his return to St. Andrews, he convocate an assembly of the clergy for condemning Mr GEORGE WISHEART of heresy; and sent to the governor, for a commission and judge-criminal to sit upon him. When this message came to the governor, and he had almost consented thereto, Sir DAVID HAMILTON of Prestoun began to dissuade him, saying, 'I marvel, Sir, for what reason you thus consent to the murder of the preachers of Christ's Evangel, whereof you have been a professor yourself; yea, seeing you yourself have commanded and desired all men to read and exercise the Old and New Testaments, which is the only dittay against Mr GEORGE WISHEART. You are now, by the grace of God, advanced to the place of a king in Scotland; you ought therefore to honour God who hath honoured you, by procuring a free passage to his word through this realm; which, if you neglect, trust not to have so good success in your affairs as before you have

found. Remember how God rent the kingdom from Saul, and gave it to David, for his disobedience.

By this friendly admonition the governor being moved, wrote to the cardinal to continue the accusation of Mr GEORGE, till he spake with him; which, if he did not, his blood be upon his own head; for he would not consent to his condemnation.

The cardinal, inflamed with this answer, hastened the more to the execution of his purpose. He being therefore brought out of the castle, to the abbey-kirk, to be examined and accused, the sub-prior, dean JOHN WINRAM doctor in divinity, made a sermon upon the thirteenth chapter of Matthew, discoursing of the definition, causes and remedies of heresy very orthodoxally. After sermon, Mr GEORGE WISHEART was set up in the pulpit, and over against him was set Mr JOHN LAWDER, with a long roll full of maledictions and forged articles of dittay, which he read against Mr GEORGE, uttering withal most bitter and despiteful railings and threatenings. To the which accusation in general, and to every particular article, he answered very modestly, and withal very pithily. Notwithstanding, the cardinal and prelates incontinent condemned him of heresy, and adjudged him to be burnt. Thereafter, he being led back to the castle till the fire should be prepared, the next morning the cardinal sent some priests and friars to whom he should make his confession. He answered, 'That he had nothing to do with them: but if the godly man, who had made the sermon the day before, would come to him, he would open his mind to him.' Hereupon, the sub-prior being sent to him, and acknowledging his innocence, after many tears, and some conference, he required if Mr GEORGE would have his sacrament, 'Yes, gladly, (said he) if I might have it as Christ instituted it.' Then the sub-prior returned to the bishops, and shewed them that he had conferred with Mr GEORGE, who had taken it
upon

upon his soul that he was innocent of all that was laid to his charge, and that he should die guiltless thereof. The cardinal, commoved herewith, answered, 'Well Sir, and you, we know what a man you are seven years ago.' The sub-prior asked, if they would consent that Mr GEORGE should have the sacrament. The bishops, after consultation, concluded, that, since he was condemned as a heretick, he should have no benefit of the kirk. With this answer the sub-prior returned to Mr GEORGE; and, having promised to pray each one for the other, they parted with shedding of tears. Meantime, the captain and the gentlemen who were with him, being to dine, asked if Mr GEORGE would eat with them. He answered, 'With a good will, and more gladly than ever heretofore, because I perceive ye are good men and godly; and that this shall be my last meat on earth: But I exhort you, that ye would give me audience, with silence, for a little time, while I bless this meat, which we shall eat as brethren in Christ; and thereafter I will take my leave of you.' So, the table being covered, and bread set thereupon, Mr GEORGE discoursed half an hour of Christ's last supper, death and passion; exhorting them to leave malice and envy, and to fix love and charity in their hearts one towards another, as the members of Christ. Thereafter he blessed the bread and drink, and ate and drank himself, and desired the rest to do so; for they should drink no more with him; for he was to taste a bitter cup, and that only for the preaching of the gospel, and zeal to the glory of God: 'But (said he) pray ye for me, and I for you, that our meeting may be in the joys of heaven, with our Father, since there is nothing in earth but anxiety and sorrow.' Having thus said, he gave thanks to God, and retired to his devotion.

Meantime the artillery of the castle was charged, and laid to the wall-heads, and cushions and green cloths spread thereon, for the cardinal and bishops to sit upon; and all the gentlemen commanded to stand.

stand about the scaffold in armour. During this mean time, Mr GEORGE was discoursing to the captain of sundry fore-tokens of things to come, which he had seen. For there appeared, said he, in the north-east, a great fire upon the sea, which, moving to and fro, at length came upon the city of St. Andrews, and, lighting upon the castle, brake asunder; which he thought, did portend the wrath of God to seize shortly, not only on that wicked man who was lord of that castle, but also upon the city. He saw also a great misty and smoky cloud arise in the south-east, and move forward till it came just above Dunpender-law, beside Haddington; and, having stayed there for a quarter of an hour, it divided itself so, that the one part stood right above Haddington; the other half moved north-west, till it came above the kirk of Inverask; and there appeared like blood descending out of the firmament; which, he said, in his judgement, portended, that there should be a council holden upon Dunpender-law, which should occasion much trouble to Scotland, and procure much bloodshed, especially a great wrack to the town of Haddington; and all by the occasion of that wicked man, who stopt the peace betwixt Scotland and England; which he prayed the Lord to forgive him.

As he was discoursing these things, the officers and tormentors brought him forth to the fire, which was prepared without the castle-gate against the west Block-house, where the bishops might lie on the wall-heads, and see this sacrifice. He, being then bound on the scaffold with iron-chains, made his prayer to Almighty God for his afflicted church, in danger to be devoured by ravening wolves; notwithstanding, God, according to his promise, would, in his own time, confound all the enemies thereof. With this, having recommended his spirit to God, the tormentors applied the fire to the powder, which kindled most hideously; and, withal, there came so vehement a blast of wind from the sea, and so great a cloud of rain brake from the sky, that the

the noise put all men in great fear. It was so forcible, that it blew down the stone walls, and them that sat thereon, to the number of two hundred persons, which fell about the draw-well, in the bishop's yard, and diverse fell into it, whereof two were drowned immediately. The captain exhorting Mr GEORGE to remember of God, he answered stoutly, notwithstanding of the fire, and said, moreover, ' Captain, God forgive that man, that thus persecutes God's servants; within few days he shall lie as shamefully, on that same place, as now he lies glorious.' When he was now burnt all beneath the middle, they desired him to remember on God, and make a sign thereof. Which he did, leaping up a foot high in the fire, to the great joy of all those that favoured God's word. But the clergy discharged all men, under the pain of cursing, to pray for him, as being a heretick. This martyrdom was committed the first of March, one thousand five hundred and forty-six; whereof the clergy was highly puffed up with pride and insolence, which shortly turned to mischief. The cardinal and archbishop, who before had been at enmity, were that day reconciled.

The cardinal, immediately thereafter, past to Arbroth, where he married his daughter on the matter of Crawford, with great solemnity. At his return to St. Andrews, being informed that there was a navy prepared in England to destroy the coast of Scotland, especially of Fife; for providing remedy hereof, he sent for all the gentlemen and barons of Fife, especially my lords Rothes and Lindsay, the lairds of Wemyss, Lochlewin, Lundie, Largo, Allardes and St. Ninians, charging them, against an appointed day, to be ready to ride with him and visit the coast, for providing fortifications for resistance of the English. But, in the mean time, NORMAN LESLY came to him for certain businesses; upon the which they fell in altercation of words, both uncharitable and unchristian. NORMAN, departing to his lodging, returned the sixth of May. In the morn-

morning, betwixt four and five hours, he with his complices came to the castle-gate, and, gripping the porter in hands, seized upon the place. PETER CARMICHAEL past up to the east Block-house chamber, where the cardinal lay; who, being let in, stabbed him immediately. The cry running through the city, his friends came rushing forward to ladder the walls and rescue him, thinking that he was alive. They that were within, to assure them of the contrary, shewed his dead body to the people upon the wall; where, when, it was lying, one called GUTHRY pissed in his mouth. At this sight many remembered the prophecy of Mr WISHART, which had foretold this long before.

The governor and queen were highly commoved hereat; therefore they caused summon the doers of this fact, to compear within six days to underly the law; and, upon their disobedience, denounced them to the horn. Whereupon these, who thought themselves accessory to the slaughter, entered into the castle, and fortified the same; viz. The lairds of Grange and Pitmillie, Mr HENRY PRIMROSE (Balnaves) the old parson GEORGE LESLY, Sir JOHN AUCHINLECK, and these who had been in the castle at the first. Many also who had nothing to do with the slaughter, but feared the governor and queen's ill-will. These men, confident of the strength of the place, refused to obey the authority, and contemptuously rejected all offers of appointment to be made with them; and sent messengers to England for support.

By this time winter approached; and the governor, being daily called upon by the queen and court, at length resolved to siege the castle; and brought thither an army, with two great cannons, Crookmow and Deaf-meg. But, after three months siege, the pest arising in the town, he was constrained to leave his purpose without effect. Heroby these that were in the castle became exceeding insolent, and oppressed all the country about, with spoiling of goods and ravishing of women, notwithstanding of the

the manifold admonitions of sundry godly men who were with them, and foretold them of that which came to pass thereafter.

In the west borders the Englishmen had taken many of the strengths that were in my lord Maxwell's bounds, and had utterly wasted the country; wherefore ROBERT HENRY, lord Maxwell, came to Edinburgh, to the queen and governor, to entreat for supply. Hereupon the governor assembled an army at Peebles, the twentieth day of July, one thousand five hundred and forty-seven; with whom he past forward to Meggetland; where, besides Guddiescleugh, the lords fenced a justice-court in the queen's name and the governor's, and accused the earl of Rothes for the slaughter of the cardinal; who compearing personally, the matter was put to the cognition of an assize of fifteen, all lords, by whom he was absolved.

The host past forward to Langhope castle, and took it by three days siege, and brought home the captains thereof prisoners to Edinburgh; where the governor was informed, that the French navy, being six gallies, and two great ships, were descried at St. Ebbe's Head, sailing for St. Andrews. The governor, well content hereof, hasted him to St. Andrews, with the gentlemen of Fife, Angus and Strathern, and welcomed the French captain, prior of Capua, directed from the French king to besiege the castle, and to bring the keepers of it prisoners to him. They clapt about the house so hastily and unexpectedly, that many were closed out, and divers were closed in against their will. Then they mounted their ordnance both upon the college steeple, and also upon the walls of the abbey-kirk, wherewith they condemned the castle close; so that no man durst walk therein, or go up to the wall-head. The captain told the governor, that they had been unexpert warriors, who had not mounted their ordnance on the steeple heads in that manner; and that he wondred of the keepers of the castle, that they had not first broken down the heads of the steeples.

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He caused also the great battery to be laid to the castle, the two Scottish cannons and six French: And, to preveen slaughter, he devised, that the cannons should pass down the streets by ingines, without any man with them; which thing, when the Italian ingineer, which had been sent from England for the support of these within the castle, perceived, he said, that now they had to do with men of war, and therefore had need to take heed to themselves. They answered, that they should defend their castle against Scotland, France and Ireland, all three. But the battery, within few hours, made such breaches in the walls, that, despairing of their strength, after consultation, they yielded the castle and themselves to the king of France. The French captain entered and spoiled the castle very rigorously; wherein they found great store of vivers, clothes, armour, silver and plate, which, with the captives, they carried away in their gallies. The governor, by advice of the council, demolished the castle, lest it should be a receptacle for rebels. This befel in the year one thousand five hundred and forty seven, in the month of August.

At this time the governor was advertised of the coming of the English army, directed against Scotland for to seek performance of the condition of marriage between the young queen of Scotland, and their young king Edward VI. wherefore he sent proclamations through all Scotland and the isles, to all manner of man betwixt sixty and sixteen, spiritual and temporal, the father as well as the son, to compare at Edinburgh, in their best array, with a month's victuals, to pass with the governor, for the defence of the realm, against the English.

The Scottish army accordingly assembled upon the west side of Esk, above Musselburgh, and were mustered to the number of forty thousand men, whereof ten thousand were in the vanguard under the earl of Angus; other ten thousand were in the rear, with the earl of Huntley. The governor himself

self commanded the steil or battle, wherein were twenty thousand men, consisting of the gentlemen of Lothian, Fife, Angus, Strathern, Stirling-shire, and the whole boroughs; the earl of Argyle and west Highland-men were in his right wing, and in the left Macleod, Macgregor, and the isles men.

The English-men had been now four nights in Scotland, and were encamped betwixt Prestoun and Trauent. They, seeing the Scottish army of so great number, and so well appointed, were very loth to hazard the battle: And therefore sent embassadors to the governor, with very courteous demands, entreating the governor, the queen and council of Scotland, as Christians, to keep their promised condition of peace and marriage, accorded upon betwixt their late king HARRY and them, under the great seals of both the kingdoms.

The governor having rejected this demand, the protector of England, considering what great bloodshed, and other inconveniencies should follow, if the two armies should join in battle; therefore sent again the next morn to the governor and council, intreating, that if they would not fulfil the contract of peace and marriage, for the present; yet they should keep the young queen still in Scotland, under the government of her own lords, and not deliver her to any foreign nation in hope of marriage; neither yet contract her with France, nor any other realm, for the space of ten years, while she might be of lawful age to chuse a husband to herself, by the advice of the nobility; and, in the mean time, peace and rest to be kept within the two realms; which, if the governor would condition, he promised, that whatever skaith they had done in Scotland at that journey, he should cause recompence to be made thereof incontinent.

These letters coming to the governor, he revealed the same only to his brother JOHN, archbishop of St. Andrews, GEORGE DUN, abbot of Dumfermling, ARCHIBALD BEATON, and Mr HUGH RIGG of Carbury; by whose advice he concealed the pro-

protector's letters and reasonable offers from the nobility, for fear lest they had embraced them; and caused a rumour be spread through the camp, that the protector of England had brought an army into Scotland to carry away the young queen perforce, and to conquer the realm.

The Englishmen, being loth to give occasion of so great bloodshed as was to follow, if they joined battle, concluded to return home peaceably, without doing any harm to the realm of Scotland; especially seeing they were destitute of victuals of their own, and could not be able to purchase any in Scotland.

This report coming to the governor and his council, made them very proud; so that, by their stubborn insolence that day, and not by the manhood of England, great mischief befel to the army and commonwealth of Scotland: For the governor incontinent sent the heralds through the army, charging all men to pass forward in order of battle. The earl of Angus, knowing that the English army could not stay in the place for want of victuals, marched at great leisure, resolving to set upon them in the flight. Whereupon the governor sent the lyon-herald again, commanding him, under the pain of treason, to march forward with speed. Which charge he obeyed, and past over the water of Esk, and stood by-west the kirk, till the governor and the whole host came forward. The protector of England seeing this by the advice of the earl of Warwick, commanded the lord Gray of England, captain of the great horsemen to pass forward on my lord Angus, and charge his battle with the barded horse and demi-lances; fearing his battle most of all, as whom they knew to be a valiant warrior; and therefore they commanded my lord Gray to hold him off till the footmen of England should be retired out of danger. The earl of Angus, seeing the lord Gray come against him, with three thousand demi-lances, caused his men receive the encounter resolutely at close order, pitching their spears in the ground, and holding
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ing them fast like a bulwark against the enemy ; so that their spears being longer than the English-mens, at the first shock they rushed to the ground the number of two hundred both horse and men ; the rest fled back, and shewed the protector, that it was as impossible to break the Scottish van-guard where they stood, as if they were a stone-wall.

The protector was so discouraged with this report, that he was resolved to flee ; and desired one of the chief of the borderers to convoy him the safest way. But the earl of Warwick found great fault with this purpose, saying, that he marvelled of the protector's lack of courage in so dangerous a time, who had shown himself wise and forward in all times bygone : ' But I vow (said he) ' if you shall flee away and abandon the king of ' England's army and cannon, I shall appeal you ' before the council of England as a false traitor ' and coward, who would lose so many worthy foot- ' men as are here, to be overtroden by the Scots ; ' But, for my part, I vow to alight on foot, and ' abide with them, for any thing that I have seen ' as yet.'

At this time the earl of Angus's battle was coming forward, and had beaten down sundry of the lord Gray's great horsemen, and had left them behind them ; which the Argyle-men perceiving, they broke away and run to the spoil. By this the English-men were returning back, when one in the governor's battle, seeing the Argyle-men out of array, cried, *Fy, fy, treason.* The master of the Scottish ordnance also, discharging a field-piece, killed therewith the master of the English ordnance, and broke the axel-tree and wheels of the cannon which he was going to shoot. The Highlandmen hearing the noise hereof, and a great dust arising out of the fallow-earth and red land, through which they were marching, so that none could see another, they brake order and began to flee. The boroughs seeing that, fled also. A very strange accident,

for the English and Scots were fleeing both at an instant.

The protector and earl of Warwick, seeing the great battle of Scots retiring back, at the first, believed it to be a train to draw them in an ambush, because they saw the other battles standing still in order: But so soon as they perceived them to cast away their weapons and armour, then they cried out, 'All is our own, the Scots are fleeing;' and, sounding their trumpets, came forward together upon the earl of Angus's battle; who, seeing so great a number unexpectedly coming upon them, returned toward the earl of Huntley's battle, to have help of them. At this time there fell so great a rain, and so thick a mist, that none could know another; so that the earl of Huntley's men believed the van-guard to be the enemy, and therefore resisted them, so that divers were slain. But the Scots, having cast away their armour, were not able to resist the English, who made the onset very furiously both with horse and foot: So that there were slain of the Scots to the number of ten thousand men, most part of whom were lords, barons, gentlemen, and honest burgeses, with many kirkmen. Many also were drowned in the water of Esk in their inconsiderate flight. Amongst the rest were slain the lord Fleming, the master of Erskin, the master of Graham, the master of Livingston, the master of Ogilvy, the master of Buchan, with many other lords and great barons. Of English-men were slain twelve-score of horsemen by the earl of Angus, among whom was the lord Gray of England, and his eldest son. Many were taken prisoners, whereof some were had in England, and some were ransomed in Scotland. This unhappy battle was foughten the eighteenth day of September, one thousand five hundred and forty-seven; wherein, through the wilful misgovernment of the governor and his privy council, there befel great misery to the kingdom of Scotland, against the mind of the nobility, and that in God's just judgment, that these, who refused peace,

peace; should fall in confusion, through unjust war, and breach of covenant: For, after this time, the governor never received his former reputation, till, at length, he was put by his place and authority. The queen-mother, albeit she was sore grieved at the slaughter of so many noblemen; yet she was not evil content of the governor's loss of reputation, and foresaw an occasion to send her daughter to France, as shortly befel.

The English army came forward to Leith, and remained there a while, every day passing forth and foraging the country, taking some houses, and carrying away many captives, there being none to make resistance. The same month the governor and queen held a council in Stirling; wherein it was resolved to send the young queen to France, for fear of the English-men (which they needed not to be afraid of) and dispatched an ambassador to France, shewing the king the estate of their affairs, and desiring support against England, promising withal to send their young queen so soon as time could serve. The French were glad of the offer; yet they were slow in sending supply to Scotland.

Meanwhile the English fortified Haddington, and put a strong garrison in it; which they kept three years. They fortified also Inch-keith and Broughty; and built a great strength near to Broughty, upon Bolgillow-law; and infested the country so, that, six miles about them, there was no land laboured but it paid duty to them. The garrison of Haddington also wasted all the country ten miles about the town. Their ships also lay all that year in Taymouth, betwixt Broughty and Dundee; so that the gentlemen of Fife were constrained to watch and ward continually, for safety of their goods. At length, the gentlemen of the country, being advertised that the English had compacted with sundry Scots, to land, by their conduct, at the East-Ferry, and to burn the same, and Luchers, with the country adjacent, and to be conducted by them safely back to their ships; lord JAMES prior

of St. Andrews, GEORGE earl of Rothes, JOHN lord Lindsay, ANDREW WOOD of Largo, and divers other gentlemen, with the provost and burgesſes of St. Andrews, came ſecretly at the break of day, and lay in ambuſh near to Partincrag, till the Engliſh were landed, and begun to forage the country. Then they broke forth betwixt them and their ſhips, and ſlew to the number of eight ſcore of their beſt men of war and mariners; of whom they had great miſſing thereafter in guiding of their ſhips; ſo that they had no great deſire thereafter to land in Fife.

About the end of the year the governor beſieged the fort of Broughty, for three months ſpace; but came no ſpeed; whereof ſome lay the blame upon the treaſon of his gunners corrupted by the Engliſh.

The ſiege being raiſed, theſe of the fort became exceeding inſolent, and ſpoiled and burnt the country at their pleaſure; and, among the reſt, the town of Dundee, and the caſtle of Weller-Pury, with the villages adjacent. The garrifon of Inch-keith alſo ſpoiled Leith and Kinghorn, and infeſted all that part of the coaſt; ſo that the queen and governor began to fear worſe to follow: And therefore called the privy council to determine anent the ſending away of the young queen to France. Many of the nobility voted againſt that reſolution, as highly prejudicial to the realm and liberty of Scotland, which hereby ſhould become a province to France; and, beſide that, ſhould continually have ſore wars with England. But the greater part, fearing that they ſhould not be able to recover the realm out of the Engliſhmen's hands; and many having a blind love to France; others being bribed by gifts and promiſes from France: It was determinate, that the young queen ſhould be ſent away to France. She ſhipped, at the weſt ſeas, in April, one thouſand five hundred and forty-eight; the lord JAMES her brother, the lord Erſkin, with ſundry barons and gentlemen being in her company.

At this time the French army landed in Leith, to the number of six thousand men, viz. a thousand horsemen and men at arms, and five thousand footmen; of the which there were three thousand Dutchmen, under the commandment of the Ringrave. Monsieur d'Esse was commander of this army; which did little good in Scotland, but spent the king of France's money. They remained in Edinburgh a certain time after their landing, which was in May, in the year foresaid; while word came of the approach of the English army, to the number of forty thousand men, conducted by the earl of Hereford, who avowed, before king EDWARD, to ride as far within Scotland as Pinkie, notwithstanding of the French army.

The governor and French-men came to Musselburgh to meet them, who were at Fawside above Pinkie. The French and Dutch advancing forward in the van-guard; the English perceiving their good order, and a great army of Scots behind them, they retired in good order toward Haddington. The French-men would not follow them, alledging, that it was not their custom to chase any but those who had fled in field.

These English-men had victualled Haddington; and, having thus shewn themselves, came to Aberlady, and shipped in some of their ablest gentlemen to pass over and spoil the coast of Fife. They came first to Anstruther and Pittenweem, but fearing to land there, these towns being so populous, they came west against St. Ninians, where they landed, thinking to march on foot at Pittenweem, and fortify the same with men and victuals, and to spoil the country. As they were coming to St. Ninians-Muir, in arrayed battle, with some artillery brought from their ships, lord JAMES commendator of St. Andrews, the lairds of Wemyss and Largo, with sundry others of the country, when they saw the fires arising, came posting thither, and joining with the common people who had convened to stop their landing, skirmished so hotly with them, that they chased them back to
their

their ships, and slew a great number of them, beside many that were drowned and taken captives. There died to the number of six hundred and twelve, and an hundred prisoners taken. This befel in June, in the year foresaid.

About this time the governor and French-men past to Haddington, with the whole army of Scotland, but did no good. The town was well fortified and furnished with all necessaries, and stoutly defended; and, on the other part, it was but slackly pursued by the French, who had now gotten the prey they desired.

In winter, being returned to Edinburgh, they behaved themselves exceedingly insolent. One day the provost of Edinburgh, WILLIAM HAMILTON laird of Stenhouse, who was also captain of the castle, was commanding two French-men to prison, for raising a fray in the town; the French-men, assembling in great numbers, encountred those who were with the provost, being unarmed; they killed the provost himself, JAMES HAMILTON his son, DAVID KIRK, DAVID BARBER, WILLIAM CHAPMAN, Mr WILLIAM STUART, WILLIAM PURVES, and ELIZABETH STUART a woman. The French king, being informed of their insolency and misgovernment, sent in Scotland a noble man of war, named Monsieur de Termes, to command the army. Monsieur d'Esse, who had the charge of the army before, ere he departed, took the fort of Inch-keith from the English. De Termes also besieged the castle of Brongty, and shortly wan it, and the other fort beside it.

The garrison of Haddington could not be well supplied with victuals; for these who brought it, either in their coming or departure, were pursued, and many of them taken and slain, especially in the day's chase. They received so great damage and slaughter, that on the first of October, one thousand five hundred and forty-nine, they burnt the town, and returned home: So that, by the French assistance, Scotland enjoyed peace; especially because the English had civil wars among themselves: For, at this time,

time, the earl of Warwick took the protector, sitting at the council-table, and carried him to the tower, where he was beheaded: and, not long after, young king EDWARD was pitifully put to death, (as is thought) by poison; and the earl of Warwick beheaded by queen MARY, who succeeded to her brother.

During this peace (which lasted five years) the lord Semple slew the lord Sanquhar, WILLIAM CRIGHTON, in the governor's chamber; yet he escaped punishment by means of JOHN HAMILTON bishop of St. Andrews, brother to the governor; who entertained the lady Stenhouse, commonly called lady Gilton, daughter to this ROBERT lord Semple, as his concubine. The governor also, by persuasion of his brother the bishop, held justice airts through all Scotland; in the which, under pretence of justice, most avariciously taking bribes and fines from thieves and honest men indifferently, they lost the hearts of all good men.

At the same time, the laird of Reath, JOHN MELVIL, an antient and honourable baron, was taken by the bishop of St. Andrews, and beheaded at Edinburgh, his head set upon the tolbooth, and his lands dealt to the governor's friends; for sending of a missive bill into England, in favour of his friend being captive there. The queen, perceiving that, by these proceedings, the governor was become exceeding odious to all the people, thought good to stir her time; and, passing into France with certain of the nobility of Scotland, she obtained of the French king to be made regent of Scotland, instead of the governor, who had so misguided the state, having no respect to the public well, but to his own profit and advancement of his friends. To this effect, the French king appointed Monsieur d' Ossel to be his ambassador in Scotland, and to give her advice how to rule the realm, to the king of France's pleasure, and her daughter's profit. He was a man of singular good judgment, and great experience, especially in warfare.

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At her return, a parliament was holden at Edinburgh, wherein the queen prevailed so far with the nobility, that they consented that she should be made regent of Scotland in the governor's place, where-unto many of the governor's near friends were brought to consent, by great gifts, pensions and promises.

In this parliament the governor rode up, from the Abbey to the Tolbooth, with the lords and heralds, having the crown, sword and sceptre, borne before him. The queen, and Monsieur d' Offel, rode up apart by themselves, and stayed till the parliament was fenced; wherein the governor discharged himself of his authority, and the queen was elected regent; who rode down, having the crown, sword and sceptre, born before her, by the same lords that had carried them up before the governor; who now rode down as a private nobleman among the rest; many remembring what had been foretold him at the burning of Mr WISHEART, that if he suffered God's servants to be cruelly persecuted for preaching of the gospel, which before he had professed, the authority should be taken from him, and given to another. The king of France had taken upon him to content the governor for the over-giving of his place; and, beside many gifts bestowed on himself and his friends, created him duke of Châtelleraut.

The queen, having rewarded the noblemen of her opinion, changed her officers of estate; among the rest Mr Rubie was made comptroller; who used such rigour in his office, that shortly thereafter he was deposed.

The twenty-eighth day of April, FRANCIS II. then dauphin of France, son to king HENRY II. married MARY, sole daughter and heir to king JAMES of Scotland, with great pomp and triumph, in the city of Paris.

In the month of December, one thousand five hundred and fifty eight, there was a parliament holden at Dumblane; wherein the French embassadör required of the estates of Scotland, that the imperial crown

crown thereof, with the sword and sceptre, should be sent unto France, that the dauphin might be crowned therewith, and proclaimed king of Scotland; and that the seals of Scotland might be broken, and new seals made; wherein the arms of France and Scotland might be quartered, and the money of Scotland thereafter to be stamped therewith; and that it should be lawful for French-men to purchase and enjoy lands in Scotland, and to sail and resort to the coasts thereof at their pleasure; that taxations should be taken up in the name of the dauphin of France and queen of Scotland.

These desires were granted by the estates, by the queen's procurement, to the manifest mischief of the commonwealth, if God had not prevented the same. The duke was not present at the concluding of these acts, but protested to the contrary. The earl of Glencairn also and the whole barons voted to the contrary, alleging, that the crown, sword and sceptre, should not be sent out of Scotland, till they saw succession of the queen's body. The seals were broken and made new; Monsieur d'Offel was made keeper of the palace of Linlithgow: But the crown was delayed, and not sent over at that time.

In the month of April, the same year, WALTER MILL was taken, by Sir HUGH CURRY, priest to the bishop of St. Andrews and Sir GEORGE STRACHAN. The bishop, on the twentieth day of the same month, convened the clergy in the Abbey-kirk of St. Andrews; where frier MALTMAN preached a sermon far from the meaning of the scripture and spirit of God; which when WALTER MILL heard, he fell on his face, and cried out, 'Alas! This frier is not ashamed to lie.' Thereafter Mr ANDREW OZIPHANT accused him of heresy.

'Heretick (said he) why didst thou pass about through fundry houses seducing the people to heresy; and teaching them charms and enchantments, to hold them from God's service?' 'Verily brother, (answered he) I held no man from the kirk; but, contrarywise, exhorted all men to the service
' of

' of God ; and, that they might understand the
 ' work of their salvation, I taught them the Lord's
 ' Prayer, the Belief, and Ten Commandments.'
 ' But, seeing thou art a priest, why hast thou for-
 ' saken the mass ? Thou hadst the cure of the parish
 ' of Lunan in Angus, beside Red-castle, from which
 ' thou fledst, and one with thee called Sir JOHN PE-
 ' TRY, servant to the lord Innermeath ; and you and
 ' he were condemned by my late lord cardinal of he-
 ' resy, and ordained to be burnt, where-ever ye
 ' might be apprehended ; so that we need no fur-
 ' ther accusation against you at this time.' ' Bro-
 ' ther, indeed I served the cure at Lunan twenty
 ' years, with the approbation, to this day, of all the
 ' parishioners, who never heard me teach erroneous
 ' doctrine, especially my lord Innermeath himself :
 ' But when the furious cardinal persecuted me, and
 ' many more, for the preaching of God's word, I
 ' was constrained to keep myself quiet, and go about
 ' asking for God's sake, reproving vices, and instruct-
 ' ing people in the grounds of religion ; for the
 ' which I am now taken and brought to this place.'
 The bishop said, ' Wilt thou burn thy faggot, and
 ' thy life shall be safe ?' ' That, (said he) I will not
 ' do, to confess myself to be a heretick. I am a
 ' poor indigent man, not caring for this world ; but
 ' assured that my reward is in heaven. I am also of
 ' great age, and have not cause to fear death. Do
 ' with me as ye think best : But it were better for
 ' you to give something for the relief of my wife
 ' and poor children.'

After this, the bishop condemned him of heresy,
 and kept him two days ; because they could not get
 a criminal judge to condemn him to death. Then
 the bishop sent for the provost of the town, being,
 for the time, bailie of the regality, and desired him
 to execute him to death, as being condemned of he-
 resy. ' I will, said the provost, do any thing that
 ' pertains to my office, according to justice, at your
 ' lordship's command : But, for the innocent servants
 ' of God, and preachers of his word, I will not med-
 dle

‘dle with them.’ The bishop said, ‘Provost, you are bailie of my regality, and ought to judge all such as transgress within my bounds.’ ‘Yes (replied the provost) and if your lordship please, I will take him, and give him a fair affize of temporal men, who perhaps will absolve him.’ ‘I am content (said the bishop) you do so, and make me quit of him any way you please.’

But some wise men, who were friends to the provost, shewed him that it was perilous to absolve a man condemned of heresy by the clergy already. The provost, considering this, desired the bishop to give him leisure to advise till the morn; which having obtained, the next day, early in the morning, he departed off the town.

The bishop, being frustrate in this manner, sought up and down a long time for one to be judge, and could find none; till, at length, he took one of his own court, named ALEXANDER SOMERVEL, a man void of all honesty, religion, or fear of God; who sat in judgment and condemned him to the death. But the merchants, for the love of this poor servant of God, had hid all tows, and all other things which might serve for his execution. He was burnt on the north side of the Abbey-kirk. Being off the scaffold, and in derision desired to recant, he answered, with great boldness of spirit, ‘I marvel of your rage, O hypocrites, that so cruelly persecute God’s servants; as for me, I am fourscore and two years old, and cannot live long by course of nature: But a hundred better than I shall rise out of the ashes of my bones, who shall scatter the proud pack of you, hypocrites, and persecutors of God’s servants; and who of you thinks yourself worthiest, shall not die so honest a death as I die now. I trust in God, I shall be the last that shall suffer death in Scotland for this cause.’

Thereafter PAUL MEFFAN came in Scotland, and preached in Dundee, and in sundry gentlemens houses in Angus; and also in Fife, especially in Cowpar, Lundie and Fawside; and sundry other. He had mi-

nistred the sacrament of the Lord's Supper in Lundie and Cowpar, and caused images and popery to be abolished wheresoever he preached: For the which cause, he and those who set him, especially the men of Dundee, were summoned to compare before the queen and council at Edinburgh, the twentieth of July, in the year foresaid: But he was so assisted by temporal men, and their earnest sollicitation for him, that the matter was delayed.

The same year there arose great troubles in the borders of Scotland and England, called the Quarter-roads; in the which there was great slaughter made on both sides. At a road in England were taken captives, the master of Marshal, the lord Gray, the master of Graham, with sundry gentlemen and barons; many also slain on both sides. There was also imposed upon the kirkmen and boroughs, a taxation of twenty four thousand pounds, viz. sixteen thousand pounds upon the clergy, and eight thousand pounds upon the boroughs.

Upon the eighth of November, MARY queen of England, daughter to king HENRY VIII. departed this life, to the great comfort of God's servants, whom she had persecuted most cruelly. Queen ELIZABETH, her sister, succeeded to her.

The lord of Ivers, his brother, provoked WILLIAM KIRKCALDIE of Grange to fight with him, in singular combat on horseback with spears; who, keeping the appointment, accompanied with Monsieur d'Oisel, lieutenant to the French king, and the garrison of Haymouth, and Mr IVERS, accompanied with the governor and garrison of Berwick, it was discharged, under the pain of treason, that any man should come near the champions within a flight-shot, except one man for either of them to bear their spears, two trumpets and two lords to be judges. When they were in readiness, the trumpets sounded, the heralds cried, and the judges let them go. Then they encountered very fiercely: But Grange struck his spear through his adversary's shoulder, and bare him off

off his horse, being fore wounded : But whether he died or not, it is uncertain.

In this year began the uproar for religion. The clergy, perceiving the whole gentry and commons bent to here God's word preached, were fore afraid; and held an assembly in the Black-friers of Edinburgh, to consult how to suppress the protestants. They made diverse constitutions; as, first, that no man should have benefice of the kirk but priests. Secondly, that no kirkman should commit whoredom; or, if he did, for the first fault, he should pay great sums of money; for the second, he should lose his benefice. To this act opposed the bishop of Murray, a great fornicator and adulterer, alleging, that it was as lawful to him to keep his whore, as to the bishop of St. Andrews. Thirdly, they made an act, that Sir DAVID LINDSAY's book should be abolished and burnt.

Unto this assembly came JOHN ERSKIN of Dun, commissioner for the kirk, who solicited the bishops, for the love they had to God, to leave off their persecution of God's saints, and suffer them to worship God according to his commandments, and to have the common prayers in all parish-kirks, while further order might be taken. This petition the bishops proudly rejected, thinking they had both the queen and the French king on their side; and therefore, consulting with the queen, they caused PAUL MEFAN, JOHN WILLOCK, WILLIAM HART (Harlaw), and JOHN DOUGLAS, to be summoned again to compare at Einburgh, at a certain day, as heretical seducers of the people : But, by the moyen of the laird of Dun, they escaped, and were not summoned at that time. Yet the queen and clergy were so com-moved at the preachers of the gospel, that they broke their promise, and caused denounce them all to the horn, and charged sundry barons and gentlemen to ward for maintaining of them. Hereupon the master of Lindsay, the lairds of Lundie elder and younger, the lairds of Abbotshall and Newhall, with sundry other gentlemen of Fife, and also of Angus and Strathern,

them, assembled at St. Johnston, in April, one thousand five hundred and fifty nine, resolving to put their lives in jeopardy, for the maintenance and propagation of the gospel.

JOHN KNOX having preached openly, after dinner they destroyed all the idols in the town. Thereafter, assembling on the bridge, they caused JOHN KNOX to conceive a prayer to God Almighty to direct them to do that which might serve most for the glory of God, and good of his kirk. Then they concluded to pass and demolish the charter-house: But the prior, suspecting their purpose, had brought down his tenants of the Highlands of Athol to defend the place. They, knowing the hazard, desired the prior to put their wives and eldest sons in their tacks; which if he would do, they promised to hazard their lives in his defence: But the prior refused this. Then they desired the prior to give them wine, and of his best drink, to encourage them; which was also refused; and nothing given to them but salt salmon and small drink; whereby they had no courage when they had most ado. The congregation sent the laird of Moncrief, being the prior's kinsman, to counsel him to leave idolatry, and serve God according to his word: But he refused to obey their desire; whereupon the congregation past to the charter-house, took forth the prior, spoiled the place, and gave the spoil to the poor. The next day they cast down the charter-house, the Grey-friers, the Black-friers, and friers of Tullilum.

The queen, who was at Stirling, hearing of these news, was highly incensed; and, having sent for the duke, she said to him, ' I marvel of you, my lord, who art second person in Scotland, having none between you and the crown but my daughter, who as yet has no issue, that you put not to your hand, to take order with these who, in this manner, destroy the policy of this kingdom. You know I am a woman, and ignorant of the disposition and nature of Scottish-men: But it is your brother's duty

'duty and yours to maintain the liberty of the
'kirk.'

The duke, allured with these speeches, joined his forces with her, and marched forward to St. Johnston. The first night they came to Auchterader, where they remained eight days, till artillery came from Edinburgh and Stirling. These of St. Johnston, understanding the queen's fury against them, gathered all that they might in Fife, Angus, Strathern and Merns, with some of Lothian; and sent a post in haste to their friend and brother the earl of Glencairn, desiring him to come in all haste for the defence of God's cause. The earl incontinent, with so many as he could get together, sped himself to come to them, in all possible haste, with eight hundred men.

The queen informed of the earl's coming, and that the congregation was of greater power than they were indeed; and that they were all resolute to fight it out to the extremity; and, in token hereof, each of them had put six quarters of a cord about his neck, wherewith he should be hanged if he did flee; and, if they got the victory, they should hang so many of the French as they might overtake; and that they were standing in the Inch, with three thousand men in arrayed battle; and had put the earl of Glencairn to defend the town with two thousand men, who had great enmity against the duke: The queen, and those who were with her, being afraid at these news, knowing that they had not forces enough against them, sent the earl of Bothwell, and lord James, prior of St. Andrews, to the congregation to take up the matter. The queen chose the earl of Argyll and lord James to treat for her; and the congregation chose the earl of Glencairn and the laird of Dun.

These four agreed the matter on these conditions. First, that the congregation should leave the town void to the queen, to enter therein with so many Scots as she pleased. Secondly, that no Frenchman should enter the town, or come within three miles of

it. Thirdly, that the queen should not molest nor trouble any inhabitant in the town; but, having reposed herself three or four days, should leave the town as she found it.

Hereupon the congregation departed every man to his house. The queen was thankfully received into the town, and liberally entertained by the chief men thereof: But, within four days, she, forgetting to keep promise, called the French-men into the town: who spoiled and troubled the same. Then she called the magistrates of the town to underly the law, for such crimes as she had to lay to their charge. She discharged also my lord Ruthven from the office of provost, and gave the same to the lord of Kinfauns, to whom she gave the charge of certain bands of soldiers to keep the town. She banished all the congregation, especially PATRICK MURRAY and his brethren, and the bailies of the town, and returned to Stirling.

The earl of Argyle and lord JAMES, hearing that the queen had broken her promise, came both to St. Andrews, and joined themselves to the congregation; and, hearing that the queen was come to Falkland, minding to come to St. Andrews against them, they sent word through Fife, Angus, Strathern, Merns and Buchan, that all their faithful brethren would come to their support. Their number increasing, they past to Carale, and destroyed all images and altars, and burnt the Rood. The next day they came to St. Andrews, and reformed all the kirks thereof, and destroyed all monuments of idolatry, and caused JOHN KNOX preach openly.

The bishop, being not able to hinder these proceedings, stole out of the town, and came to Falkland to the queen, and informed her of all. She, being highly incensed, made proclamation to all manner of men to follow her to Cowpar and St. Andrews; and commanded the soldiers to be ready to march forward with her the next day.

The congregation, hearing this, prevented the time, and came that night to Cowpar, being about
three

three thousand men. The men of Dundee, Strathern and Merns met them about a thousand men. The next morning they past forth to the muir, thinking the queen would come that way. The queen herself stayed at Falkland. Her army, being two thousand French-men, under the command of Monsieur d'Offel, with six shot of artillery, and a thousand Scottish-men commanded by the duke of Chattelearaut, marched to Tarbat-mill, on the south hand of the congregation. There they stood at a consultation.

In the mean time PATRICK LEARMONT laird of Darcey, being provost of St. Andrews, came to the congregation with five hundred men well armed. They, encouraged herewith, marched forward and stood in battle-array, over-against the enemy. The French seeing so great a number, divided in five companies, two of horsemen, and the rest footmen, and, believing them to be more than indeed they were, sent a post to Falkland to the queen, to ask what was her mind; for the congregation were more in number than they expected, and very resolute to fight it out.

The queen, hearing this, sent away the earl Marshal, the lord Lindsay, and the laird of Waughton incontinent, to take up the matter. The earl Marshal, taken with sickness, as he alleged, came no further than the Sheel-bridge. The other two posted so fast, that they bursted their horse before they came to the congregation; whom they found in arrayed battle, having chosen forth five hundred of their best horsemen to prick, and stop the French from crossing the water of Edin. Then they began to reason with the chief men of them, shewing them, that it was great rashness to them, who were noblemen and chief gentlemen of the country, to hazard themselves in battle against a number of mercenary soldiers, being strangers. They answered, that they came only in defence of themselves, their friends and religion, so grievously pursued by the French-men and bishops, whom they wished to return from

from whence they were come, and so they should depart in like manner.

Then my lord Lindsay past to the duke, where he stood, and said, ' It is strange, my lord, that you are so ill-advised, as to come in battle against your own dearest friends and kinsmen, for the pleasure of your enemies. Are not you young lord of Scotland, and these your kinsmen and friends, who will assist you to their power in your good quarrel? Assure yourself, if you assist these strangers against your own friends, you shall hardly escape yourself; for they are more enraged against you, than against the French-men, because you are induced to assist these strangers against your own countrymen and dear friends; and namely the earl of Argyle your own sister's son; the quarrel being the propagation of Christ's Evangel, which you will never be able to hinder. Be assured, my lord, if once they shall get those men cut off, whom you pursue to day, being your surest friends, they will soon cut off yourself also. Since then the matter stands so hard with you, I counsel you to obey God rather than man.'

The duke shewing himself tractable, my lord Lindsay desired him to stay still till he returned back to him. Then he posted to Monsieur d' Ossel, shewing that he and WAUGHTON were sent by the queen to take up the matter betwixt the two armies; and therefore discharged him, in the queen's name, to march any further till he had ended his commission. Then he spake to Monsieur d' Ossel, de la Chappel, and Charalons, ' It is far against your commission (said he) who are sent by your master the French king to defend the realm against our enemies of England, and to give our queen regent profitable counsel for government of this kingdom, that you are come forth in arrayed battle yourselves, and some of the nobility of Scotland stirred up by you to destroy the rest. So that thereby this realm shall become an easy prey to any enemy. I am sure it is not the king of France's will, that you

‘ you spend his men and money in destroying the
‘ nobility of Scotland; especially the earl of Ar-
‘ gyle, lord JAMES the queen’s brother, with many
‘ other noblemen standing on yonder field, who are
‘ most willing to pleasure and serve the king of
‘ France, when he hath ado. I counsel you, in
‘ the name of God, to go no further on against them;
‘ for they are determinate to do what they are able
‘ in defence of the protestants, and to stop you
‘ from entring into these towns, especially seeing
‘ the queen is not here in proper person; neither
‘ would they suffer herself to enter thereinto, ex-
‘ cept with her ordinary court and train, all soldiers
‘ being removed. Ye are strangers, lose not the
‘ hearts of Scottish-men, neither procure the nobi-
‘ lity of Scotland to turn enemies to the king of
‘ France, who are now his friends; which if you
‘ do, you will get no thanks at his hands and his
‘ council.’ Likewise it is an old Scottish proverb;
I will suffer my friend to need, but I cannot see
him bleed. ‘ Think you then that my lord duke
‘ will suffer you to destroy his friends and kinsmen
‘ of the congregation; especially the earl of Ar-
‘ gyle his sister’s son? Beware lest, when you, hav-
‘ ing the van-guard, shall join in battle with the con-
‘ gregation, the duke’s friends and followers, pre-
‘ ferring their own friends of the congregation be-
‘ fore strangers, shall encounter you on your backs,
‘ and cut you off. Besides, the congregation are
‘ far more in number than ye are, as you see, and
‘ know the country and strengths better than you.
‘ Finally, so far as I perceive, they blame you on-
‘ ly, as by whose counsel the queen hath been mo-
‘ ved to persecute them: And therefore they have
‘ resolved that you shall not escape their hands a-
‘ live: Beware, therefore, to lose the good name
‘ which before you have purchased. Beware to lose
‘ the hearts of the nobility and commons of Scot-
‘ land, for the pleasure of the bishops. Beware to
‘ hazard yourself and countrymen in so evident a
‘ danger. Think not that a few French men of
‘ war

' war will be able to conquer Scotland. Use my counsel therefore in time, before it turn to worse.'

Monsieur d' Ossel, considering my lord Lindsay's words, thought them very probable; yet he rode up to the top of Tarvat-hill, and spied the congregation and their number; who had drawn up their men in such sort, that the multitude seemed far greater. He perceived also the duke's followers settled a back from the van-guard a little; and some of them, under the assurance, gone over to the congregation.

These things made my lord Lindsay's words settle more deeply in his heart: Wherefore he called on my lord Lindsay, and referred the whole matter to him and my lord duke. My lord Lindsay, for the more assurance, obtained the reference under his hand and my lord duke's, and returned back to the congregation; and, after coming to and fro, they concluded on these articles. First, that the French, with their artillery, should presently retire back to Falkland; and, the next morning so soon as they might see, depart over the Ferry to Lothian, and no more return to Fife. Secondly, that the queen should grant them free liberty of conscience, to serve God as they pleased. Thirdly, that the queen should ride up and down Fife as she pleased, having no French man of war in her company, save only her ordinary court. Fourthly, this being done within twenty-four hours they should disband their army, and continue loyal obedience to the queen, according to their duty.

These articles were accorded upon, and subscribed by both parties, far contrary to every man's expectation; who looked that it should not pass without a bloody battle.

All things being performed according to the fore-said appointment, the congregation, who were in Cowpar, were informed, the next day, by messengers from Perth, of the oppression committed upon the citizens thereof, by the new provost the laird of Kinfawns, and his men of war: Wherefore they
past

past immediately to Perth, besieged the town; and, having taken it, they put out the laird of Kinfawns; and restored the office of provost to the lord Ruthven. The earl of Huntley and my lord Erskin had been sent to stay the siege by the queen: But they refused, and continued assaulting the town, killing many of the defendants, with the loss of one only man on their side; and having demolished the rest of idolatrous places, they reformed the parish-kirks; and having stayed there a day or two, being advertised that the queen-regent was sending a garrison of French soldiers to Stirling, the earl of Argyle, and lord JAMES hastened thither, and prevented them. Having reformed Stirling, the third day thereafter they came to Linlithgow, and reformed it.

The queen, hearing that they were coming to Edinburgh, fled, with her Frenchmen, to Dumbarton. The congregation reformed all the kirks of Edinburgh, destroyed all idolatry, and made the gospel to be openly preached by JOHN KNOX, JOHN WILLOCK, WILLIAM HARLAW. At this time came from England, CHRISTOPHER GOODMAN, a learned preacher, long bred in Geneva. He stayed a long time in the college of St. Andrews.

In the month of July, one thousand five hundred and fifty-nine, word came to Scotland of the death of HENRY II. king of France, being wounded in the eye by the splint of a spear at a tournament. The queen-regent was very sorry at these news, and feared to be expelled out of Scotland by the congregation. On the other part, the congregation became altogether secure, as thinking to find no more resistance. 1559

The queen, informed hereof by secret espials, took purpose to return to Edinburgh: But the town and congregation withstanding her, she retired to Leith, and fortified it very strongly, having abundance of victuals, many good warriors, and the most part of the artillery of Scotland.

About this time queen ELIZABETH of England, caused reform all the kirks of England, and overthrew

threw all idolatry, which had been set up by queen MARY, after the death of king EDWARD VI.

Whilst the skirmishing was hottest betwixt Edinburgh and Leith, about the twentieth of August, the earl of Arran escaped out of France, (where his life was sought by the house of Guise, because he stood so constant for the reformed religion) and came through Flanders and England, unknown to any before he came home, whence he had been absent fourteen years. By his persuasion the duke his father left the queen-regent, and joined himself to the congregation. The earl of Arran also agreed his father with the earl of Glencairn, the laird of Reath, the laird of Grange, and many other gentlemen whom his father had forfeited.

The congregation caused proclaim, that all who would join with them should compear at Edinburgh, the fifteenth day of October. At which time assembled the duke, his eldest son the earl of Arran, the earl of Glencairn, the lord Ruthven, the master of Lindsay, with all the gentlemen of the congregation, and the boroughs, and besieged Leith for the space of a month, but came not speed. The soldiers also began to mutiny for want of pay. Whereupon the lords of the congregation resolved to coin all their silver-vessel and rings: But the coining stamps being stoll away, they were constrained to send to their friends in Berwick, Sir RALPH SADLER and Sir JAMES CROFTS, to borrow a little money to put off the present necessity. The queen, advertised hereof by her secret espyals, sent the earl of Bothwel to lye in wait for the laird of Ormiston, who was sent for the same, and to intrap him in his return; which he performed, wounded and took himself, and took the money from him. The earl of Arran, and lord JAMES STUART, advertised hereof, passed hastily out of Edinburgh, with the most part of the horsemen, to relieve the laird of Ormiston out of his hands. The earl, knowing of their coming, fled away before; wherefore they took his
castle

castle of Creightoun, and brought great spoil out of it to Edinburgh: But finding Leith so strongly fortified, and being loth to hazard themselves against the French, they wrote letters, subscribed by all the lords and barons there present, unto England for support; which was promised to them, and a day prefixed when they should come, both by sea and land. So the congregation deserted Edinburgh and retired. The queen immediately, with my lord Bothwel, my lord Creightoun, and the French-men, entered into Edinburgh again, and restored all the altars and images, and erected the mass in the kirks, and blotted out the Lord's Prayer, the Belief and Commandments, which were patent upon the kirk-walls.

In September following, the French marched forth of Edinburgh, and wasted and spoiled Linlithgow and Stirling, and the country thereabout; and came down the north side of Forth, and made great destruction in Kinghorn, Dysart and Wemyss, and killed all the bestial thereabout. They spoiled the laird of Grange's house and villages, and syne blew up the house with gun-powder.

In the mean time, La Bastie, a French captain, with fifty of his company, came forth to spoil Duniekehr; which the master of Lindsay and the laird of Craighall perceiving, they, with their followers, set upon him right manfully. La Bastie, having drawn his men within the ruins of an old house, long time defended himself stoutly with a halbert in his hand. The master of Lindsay encountring with him hand to hand, they fought a long time very eagerly; at length the master of Lindsay struck him on the forehead with a broad-sword, and clave his brain-pan. Many of his soldiers were killed, the rest were carried to Dundee. The queen was very sorry for La Bastie, for he was a valorous and active gentleman.

The congregation, at their departure out of Edinburgh, had divided themselves in two companies; the one to stay at Glasgow, the other at Dysart in

Fife. These, and others who joined with them, assembled at Cowpar, and stayed there eight days to determine upon the articles to be agreed upon betwixt them and their friends who were at Glasgow, on the one side, and the queen of England on the other, for obtaining of her support. Many of the gentlemen of Fife, at this time, were on the queen's faction, namely, Wemyss, Balmuto, Balvery, and the abbot of Dumfermling.

560 Upon the twenty-fourth of January, one thousand five hundred and sixty, the English ships came into the Frith, and their admiral, Mr WINTER, landed at Aberdour. They remained still in the Frith till the land-army came unto them.

The French-men, being at that time in the Wemyss, were informed that they were French ships sent for their supply. Being encouraged with these news, they determined to go to Cowpar, and set upon the congregation; and fell to consultation, whether they should go thither the nearest way, or go about by the coast of St. Andrews, and from thence to Cowpar. They resolved upon the last, in respect that the snow was so deep, that the horsemen could not travel the nearest way: But when they were come to Kincaig, and descried them to be English ships, indeed, they became greatly afraid; and, leaving their meat half-prepared, they hasted back, some to Kinghorn, some to Dumfermling: But the laird of Grange slew many of them by the way. The English ships came up the Frith, and shot at the castle of Bruntisland, and took it with the loss of sundry French-men.

Upon the twenty-sixth of January, diverse of the congregation came from Stirling, and cutted the bridge of Tillibody, to stop the French-men from passing over. So they were constrained to stay all that night in Fothergimuir, without either meat or drink; and many of them were killed before they could get the bridge repaired.

At the same time, the marquiss of Elbeuf, brother to the duke of Guise and queen-regent, came from

from France, with eight ships to support the queen: but five of the ships were broken with the force of tempest, himself beaten back with the other three, to the great comfort of the protestants.

Upon the thirtieth day of January, the queen directed captain CULLEN from Leith, with some vessels furnished with artillery and soldiers, for support of the French-men who were in Fife: But he and his ships were taken by the Englishmen. Whereat the queen took great displeasure, and lay sick eight or nine days.

Not long after this, the prior of St. Andrews, the master of Lindsay, and the laird of Grange, past to Wester Wemyss, and took the laird thereof; and also the lairds of Seafield, Montwharney, Balmuto and Balgony, and carried some of them to St. Andrews, and kept them there.

Upon the fourth of February, the gentlemen and boroughs of Fife, who had taken part with the queen, came to St. Andrews, and subscribed with the congregation. And, upon the seventh day, the prior, with the lords and gentlemen of the congregation of Fife, past to Glasgow, and joined with the duke and his son, consulting anent their passing to meet with the English army.

The twelfth day of February, the English ships took two French ships coming to support the queen. There came also seventeen English ships more from Berwick, and joined with the rest. They kept Inch-keith that none could furnish it.

Upon the seventeenth day they took another ship coming to support the queen with horse and money, and had her to Berwick. The twenty-second they took a great ship, which the queen had furnished to pass to France with letters.

In March, the lord Ruthven, the prior of St. Andrews, and the provost thereof, with the laird of Pittarro, and forty gentlemen, took ship at Pittenweem in Fife, in an English ship called The Hound, and sailed to Berwick to bring in the land-army, and to confirm the band made betwixt them

and the congregation. They returned shortly to Pittenweem with ten ships; and, upon the tenth of March, they, with my lord Arran, my lord Lindsay, and other of the congregation, met at St. Johnstoun; to whom the earl of Huntley, with the boroughs and gentlemen of the north, came; and, after three days conference, joined with the congregation, and forsook the queen.

Then the lords of the congregation and gentlemen of Fife met at Cowpar, and concluded to pass and meet the English army at Haddingtoun. They sent forth proclamations, that all men should be at Leith the thirtieth of March, with thirty days victuals, under the pains to be reputed as partakers with the French, and enemies to the commonweal.

About this time, the French-men, hearing that the duke was besieging Castle-Semple with a great army, they rode to support my lord Semple. But, the same day that they came to Glasgow, he had taken the castle. They stayed three days in Glasgow, and did great skaith: But the congregation would not fight with them, nor hazard a battle before they joined with the English.

The twenty-eighth of March, the lords and gentlemen by-north Forth, having cast down the abbey of Dumfermling, came to Stirling, but could not enter into it because of the French-men; and therefore returned back to Castle-Campbel. But the next day the French-men departed to Leith; in the which journey threescore of them were slain.

The lords, hearing of their departure, came to Stirling; and from thence to Linlithgow; where having met with the rest of the congregation, on the first of April, they past to meet the English army at Haddingtoun and Aberlady, being about eight thousand men. The same day the queen-regent past to the castle of Edinburgh.

Upon the sixth of April, the Englishmen skirmished with the French-men at Lestallrig, and repulsed them back to the town of Leith with great slaughter.

There

There came also of Englishmen, at sundry times with my lord Gray and my lord Talbot, the number of twelve thousand men, besides those who were in the ships, which were thirty sail.

Upon the thirteenth day, Leith was inclosed about with the siege, that no man might pass in or out; and the assault was made with twelve cannon, and twenty small pieces.

Upon the fifteenth day, the French-men issued forth to the trenches, where the English White-clokes slew an hundred of them.

Upon the seventeenth day, the English ships came to the pier of Leith, and shot amongst the French-men, and killed forty of them.

Upon the twentieth day, the principle block-house of Leith, called St. Anthony's kirk, was battered down; and also the High-kirk, where the vivers lay, with many houses on the east-side of the town.

Upon the twenty-eighth day, the English, giving the alarm, assaulted Leith, and killed fourscore Frenchmen.

Upon the thirtieth day, they burnt the mill of Leith, and brought away the goods which were within the fort.

Upon the third day of May, the English-men and the congregation entrenched beside Bonytown, beyond the water of Leith, and condemned the Block-house beside the mill of Leith, and also the bridge.

Upon the eighth day of May, the English and Scots assaulted Leith on the night; but the ladders were too short; so that they were repulsed with great slaughter. Therefore the English-men sent to Berwick for more men and longer ladders, which came to the camp the thirteenth of May, the men being about five hundred.

Upon the twenty-first day, the English ships encountering with ten French ships sent to the supply of Leith, took four of them, and forced the rest to return home.

Upon the twenty-fifth day, the French again issued out of Leith : But they were repulsed into the town, and twenty-four of their men killed.

Upon the twenty-eighth of May, a parliament was proclaimed, till the tenth of July thereafter.

Upon the tenth day of June, one thousand five hundred and sixty, the queen-regent departed this life in the castle of Edinburgh, being overtaken with extreme melancholy, that the nobility had risen up against her.

There had been diverse treaties of peace, by means of the French and English ambassadors ; but the French refused to give over the town, unless they got leave peaceably to transport bag and baggage. To which the congregation would not assent. Then there came three hundred men to the camp from England.

The twenty-eighth of June, the French issuing out of Leith, their colonel and many men were slain, and the rest repulsed.

To revenge this repulse, upon the sixth of July, they issued forth again. The English and Scots, who were in their trenches, perceiving them, rushed betwixt them and the town, and slew eleven score of them. The town escaped narrowly untaken.

Upon the tenth of July, the peace betwixt the Scots, English and French was at length concluded and proclaimed. And, upon the thirteenth day, the French shipped and departed home, leaving the town void.

The parliament began, upon the twentieth day of July, at Edinburgh, and endured twenty days. In the which the religion reformed was established. All the rest of this year there was great peace and quietness, and good administration of justice in the country.

Upon the sixth of December, one thousand five hundred and sixty, FRANCIS II. king of France, husband to queen Mary, (she being eighteen years of age, having remained twelve years in France) departed this life without succession.

The next year, one thousand five hundred and sixty

sixty one, upon the twenty-first of August, she returned to Scotland, and arrived at Leith, with two gallies and four ships; and was honourably received by her lords and subjects. She made her entry into Edinburgh with exceeding great magnificence. 1561

Upon the seventeenth of December, she past out of Edinburgh to Linlithgow; and from thence to Stirling, Perth, Dundee, and Falkland; and thereafter returned to Edinburgh.

In December following, the whole estates assembled at Edinburgh; where it was enacted, that all benefited persons should quit a third part of their living, to be assumed by the queen for augmentation of her estate, and maintenance of the ministers of the gospel. Thereafter the whole kirk-men assembled with all their assiters, the earl of Bothwel being their head; and dealt with the queen to restore the mass: But God disappointed them of their intention.

Upon the first of January, the queen past to Seaton, and stayed there four days; where lord JOHN, prior of Coldingham, was married upon JEAN HEPBURN sister to the earl of Bothwel.

Upon the tenth of February, the queen's other brother, JAMES prior of St. Andrews, was made earl of Murray, and married AGNES KEITH daughter to the earl of Marshal, in the Abbey of Holy-roodhouse. At which solemnity nine gentlemen of Fife were knighted.

Upon the fifteenth day there came an embassador from Sweden to the queen, desiring licence, to the king of Sweden to come into this realm. It is thought he expected to have the queen in marriage.

Upon the twenty-eight of February, he received his answer and departed.

Upon the third day of March, the queen past from Edinburgh to Dumfermling, and from thence to Dysart and to Dury.

On the sixth day she came to St. Andrews, and stayed there a space.

Upon the twenty-first day, she came to Cowpar and to Falkland; and syne returned to St. Andrews.

In the same year of God, one thousand five hundred.

dred and sixty-two, the earl of Bothwel, with other gentlemen, came to Falkland, thinking to seize upon the queen's person; or (as some say) to poison her: But the matter being disclosed, they were imprisoned in the castle of Edinburgh. Mr GAVIN HAMILTON also was imprisoned, and so was the earl of Arran, who was alleged to have disclosed the conspiracy.

Upon the first of April, the queen having returned to St. Andrews, the duke sent a letter to her grace, humbly entreating that his son, the earl of Bothwel, and Mr GAVIN HAMILTON, might be let forth upon caution; which being refused, the duke came to St. Andrews for the same effect, but in vain. Thereafter the queen caused charge him to render to her grace the castle of Dumbarton, which he obeyed; and the queen made a servant of her own captain of it.

About this time, the protestants of France destroyed the the images, and all the monuments of idolatry in Rouan, and other towns; their captain being the prince of Condy. As they were advancing forward to Paris to do the like, the papists, and the duke of Guise their captain, met them in the fields. The conflict was doubtful; but the victory inclined to the protestants.

In April, the king of Sweden's brother came to St. Andrews, desiring the marriage of our queen to the king his brother: But he got deferring answers. After this the queen past to Lochleven, and to Edinburgh.

In the same year, the town of Rouan was besieged and taken by the French king, to the great discontentment of the protestants.

Upon the fifteenth day of May, there came an ambassador out of Sweden very well accompanied. He was honourably received, and got presence at Holyrood-house. The same day my lord Fleming was honourably married. The ambassador departed the last of May. He received from the queen a chain worth a thousand crowns.

Upon the twentieth of May, the laird of Leithington,

toun, secretary to the queen, was sent to England for certain affairs anent the meeting of the two queens.

There was, at this time, in Normandy, a battle betwixt the papists and protestants; in which great slaughter was made on both sides; and the prince of Condé was taken.

The tenth of July thereafter, the papists and protestants of France met together at the town of Orleans; where great slaughter was committed on both sides, and specially on the shaven sort. The duke of Guise was killed by his own servant, treasonably, by the shot of a dag; but the murderer was severely punished to death.

There was an appointment made for a meeting of the two queens at York; and the queen had prepared herself to depart the twenty-fourth day of July, and the nobility warned thereof; but occasions hindered the same: For the queen of England had sent ten thousand men to Newhaven in France, for support to the protestants, the earl of Warwick being their lieutenant. The queen of Scotland took journey to the north land, and came to Aberdeen the thirteenth of August. At which time the earl Bothwell brake ward in the castle of Edinburgh, escaping out of the window by a tow.

Upon the twentieth day of September, the queen made proclamations through the north country, that all men should be at her in her of war: And this was, because the laird of Findlater, son to the earl of Huntley, brake ward in Aberdeen, and held all the castles belonging to his father and himself, and would not render them. The earl of Huntley raised to the number of a thousand men. Lord ROBERT, the queen's brother, was sent to Dundee and Edinburgh; and shortly thereafter the queen sent five hundred light-horsemen to France, in support of the protestants there.

The twentieth of September the castle of Inverness was taken, and the captain thereof, called Gordon, was hanged. At this time, JOHN GORDON, laird of Findlater, took certain of the queen's men
of

of war in Bamff, and took their weapons from them. The earl of Huntley and he, being charged to compare before the queen's grace at Aberdeen, and refusing, were denounced to the horn.

The earl of Huntley, with his assistants, came forward to Bamff the twentieth of October, thinking to have taken the queen at Aberdeen. The earl of Murray, the earl of Mortoun, and my lord Lindsay, being in the town, they, leaving the queen in the town, past to the fields the twenty-eighth of October; and fought with the earl of Huntley at a place called the Bank of Fair, alias Correichy. There were slain to the earl of Huntley two hundred; to the queen six score; the victory inclining to the queen. And the earl himself being killed in the taking, his dead body was brought to Aberdeen, and laid in the Tolbooth.

The thirtieth day of October, five gentlemen of the name of Gordon were hanged at Aberdeen; and, on the second day of November, the laird of Findlater beheaded. ADAM, the youngest brother, was spared; and the duke commanded to keep my lord Gordon, his son-in-law, sure; and albeit thereafter he came to St. Johnston to intercede for him, yet he got no answer which pleased him.

Upon the fourth of November, the queen came from Aberdeen to Dunnotter; and from thence to Bonningtoun, Arbroth and Dundee.

Shortly thereafter the earl of Murray came from the queen to St. Andrews, because he would not consent to the marriage of the queen with the lord Darnley. There was a convention of the nobility kept at Stirling anent the said marriage; and the most part consented thereto.

1564 In the month of June one thousand five hundred and sixty-four, the queen sent for the earl of Murray: But he was advertised, that if he came he would be put in ward, and therefore he absented himself.

About this time the earl of Rothes, with certain gentlemen, came to Parrat-well, beside Dowhil, thinking to have taken my lord Darnley from the queen

queen, as they rode from St. Johnstoun to the Queensferry: But she being advertised, had past by before they met. In July next they were summoned to underly the law.

At this time, there came an embassador from England, desiring that the earl of Lenox and his son should return into England, otherwise to lose all his lands there; but this was refused; and my lord Darnley was created duke of Rothsay, and earl of Ross.

Upon the eight of July, the queen was married to my lord Darnley, in the abbey of Holy-rood-house, with great pomp and triumph; the most part of the nobility being present, except the duke, the earls of Argyle, Murray and Rothes. They being charged by a herald to come to Edinburgh to the queen, upon their refusal, were put to the horn. Proclamations were made, that all men should meet the queen at Falkland the thirteenth day of August.

This same year, the lord Gordon, the earls of Bothwell and Sutherland were restored to their liberty and estates.

The twentieth day of August, by open proclamation at Cowpar, all men that had been at the Parratwell were summoned to ward in Dumbarton; and the earl of Rothes put to the horn. Thereafter the queen went to Glasgow, having commanded, by open proclamations, all men to attend her in the fier of war, to resist the lords that were at the horn. From Glasgow she sent a herald to Hamilton, to charge the duke to render his house, under the pain of treason.

The next day, the lords who were at the horn came to Edinburgh; but the castle shot at them, and therefore they departed to Dumfries: But, hearing that the king and queen were returned to Edinburgh, they came to Glasgow.

Upon the twelfth day of September, the king and queen made the earl of Lenox lieutenant of the west parts; and thereafter came to Stirling, Fife and Dundee, and put sundry gentlemen of Fife and Angus in ward, for assisting the lords who were at the horn.

The

The earl of Bothwel was now returned from France, and landed at Coldingham in a pink ; and gave his presence to the king and queen, and was received in great favour, and made lieutenant-general of the borders.

The eight day of October, the queen received great sums of money from the boroughs ; and gave eleven thousand merks for the superiority of Leith.

The tenth day, the earl of Huntley was proclaimed again the earl of Huntley ; and immediately the king and queen, with the whole body of the realm, past out of Edinburgh to Dumfries, with certain carted pieces. The duke, the earls of Argyle, Murray and Rothes, hearing of so great power, fled into England. At Dumfries my lord Maxwell met the king, and came in his will, and rendered two of his special castles to him.

About this time, there came a great English ship carrying twenty brazen pieces of ordnance. Some think that she came to receive the lords that were at the horn ; others, that she attended the earl of Bothwel in his return from France, to have taken him. Justice airs were proclaimed through all the shires, for punishment of all them that took part with the rebellious lords. And, in December, a proclamation was made to the twelfth day thereof, to forfeit the lords that were in England.

1566 In January following, there came an embassador from France to make the king knight of the cockle.

Upon the twenty-second of February, the earl of Bothwel was married on the earl of Huntley's sister. The king and queen made the banquet the first day ; which continued five days, with justing and tournament. At which solemnity were made six knights of Fife.

Upon the eighth day of March, the queen rode in parliament to the Tolbooth of Edinburgh, with the crown, sword and sceptre carried before her, by the earls of Huntley, Crawford and Athole : But the king rode not that day. In this parliament the restitution of the earls of Huntley and Bothwel were ratified.

T H E
A D D I T I O N,
BEING AN
ABBREVIATE OF THE HISTORY
O F
K I N G J A M E S V I.

CHARLES JAMES VI. son to HENRY STUART lord Darnley and MARY, king and queen of Scotland, was born in Edinburgh castle the nineteenth day of June, one thousand five hundred and sixty six years; and the eighteenth day of December, in the year foresaid, he was solemnly christened at Stirling; whose godfathers were CHARLES king of France, and PHILIBERT duke of Savoy; and the queen of England was his god-mother, who gave a font of gold curiously wrought and enamelled, weighing three hundred and thirty three ounces, amounting in value to the sum of a thousand four hundred and three pounds, nineteen shillings sterling money. 1576

The tenth of February, in the morning, one thousand five hundred and sixty seven, HENRY STUART, lord Darnley, and husband to queen MARY, was murdered shamefully in the kirk of Field: the revenge whereof remaineth in the hands of Almighty God. 1577

The twenty-second day of the said month, in the year foresaid, lady MARGARET DOUGLAS, lawful daughter to the earl of Angus, sister-daughter to

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king

king HARRY VIII. countess of Lenox, and mother to the said lord Darnley, was discharged out of the tower of London.

The twenty-ninth day of July, in the year fore-said, CHARLES JAMES the young prince of Scotland, after a sermon made by JOHN KNOX, was crowned king of Scotland at Stirling; where there were read certain commissions, with the queen of Scotland's seal at them, for the establishing of the same. The first, for her resignation of the crown, and government of the young prince her son. The second, to authorize the earl of Murray to be regent during his minority. The third, to give authority and power to seven other joining with the said earl of Murray, in case he should refuse to exercise the same alone; that is to say, the duke of Chatteleraut, the earls of Lenox, Argyle, Athole, Mortoun, Glencairn and Mar. The commission being ended, the bishop of Akelly, with two superintendants, proceeded to the coronation. The earl Mortoun and the lord Hume took the oath for the king, that he should rule in faith, fear and love of God; and to maintain the religion then preached in Scotland. He was then appointed, and had the royal robe put on him. He had the crown upon his head, the sword by his side, and the sceptre in his hand; to the bringing to him of every one of which, prayers were made in the Scottish tongue, wherein the whole ceremony was made and done.

The fields of Tullie-Angus and Crabstane was stricken between GORDON and FORBES, in the year one thousand five hundred and seventy one.

In the same year was the massacre of France, called the Murder of Paris.

In the year of God one thousand five hundred and eighty one, the earl of Mortoun, regent of Scotland, was executed at Edinburgh.

In the year of God one thousand five hundred and eighty three, the earl of Gowry, lord Ruthven, was executed at Stirling.

In

In the year thereafter was the road of Stirling, and banishment of the lords; and the same year was a great pest in Edinburgh, and thereabout, where fifteen thousand persons died. 1544

In the year of God one thousand five hundred and eighty five, there was a great storm of snow in harvest; and the same year was the incoming of the banished lords, called the Road of Stirling.

In the month of May thereafter, MARY queen of Scotland escaped out of prison, fled into England, and the sixteenth day of the said month, after her escape out of Lochleven, where she had been imprisoned, arrived at Werlington in England, having in her company a small number, where she stayed; and captain REID, with fifty soldiers, was appointed to attend on her, and convoy her to Carlisle, and from thence to Beltoun-castle, belonging to the lord Scroop, who, with Sir RALPH SADLER sent down for the purpose, had the custody of her till she was committed to the earl of Shrewsbury.

The twenty-ninth day of October, one thousand five hundred and eighty-seven, there was a parliament holden at Westminster, for trying of matters concerning MARY queen of Scotland.

The sixth of December thereafter, in the year foresaid, the lord mayor of London, assisted with divers earls and barons, the aldermen of London in their scarlet robes, with their officers, and greatest number of their best account about the city, to the number of fourscore of the gravest and most worshipful citizens, in coats of velvet and chains of gold, all on horseback, in most solemn and stately manner, by sound of four trumpets about ten of the clock in the forenoon, made open and publick proclamation and declaration of the sentence given lately by the nobility against MARY queen of Scotland, under the great seal of England, bearing date at Richmond the fourth of December, being openly read by Mr WILLIAM SEBRIGHT town-clerk of London, and with a loud voice solemnly proclaimed, by the serjeant at arms of the said city, in divers streets and corners, and name-

ly in the palace of Westminster, without Temple-Bar, and other parts.

The eighth day of February thereafter, according to the sentence lately given, MARY STUART queen of Scotland, about ten of the clock in the forenoon, was executed, and suffered death by beheading upon a scaffold set up for that purpose in the great hall of Fotheringhay, in presence of GEORGE TALBOT earl of Shrewsbury, HENRY GRAY earl of Kent, principal commissioners, and other gentlemen of the country near adjoining, to the number of three hundred persons ; who was, as pertained to a queen, royally buried in Peterborough.

On the first day of August next following, in the year of God one thousand five hundred and eighty-eight, a navy was sent to the seas against the Spanish Armada, who were in number a hundred and fifty-eight sail.

In the year following was the road of the bridge of Dee ; and the king's first air in Aberdeen.

In the year of God one thousand five hundred and ninety, king JAMES VI. was married with ANNA of Denmark.

In the year of God one thousand five hundred and ninety two, the earl of Huntley slew the earl of Murray at Dunibersel.

In the same year prince HENRY FREDERICK was born, the ninth day of February ; and the same year, the eighteenth day of August, there was a great wind that shook the corns ; and, by storms thereafter, ran sik dearth, that the meal gave eighteen pounds the boll.

In the year of God one thousand five hundred and ninety-six, the field of Glenlevit was stricken betwixt GORDON and CAMPBELL, where GORDON was victor ; and, in the same year, Strabogy and Slanes were casten down ; and an air holden in Aberdeen.

In the year following the eighteenth day of December, was an uproar in Edinburgh betwixt the king and the kirk ; and the same year, the sun was eclipsed totally.

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The twenty-fifth day of February, in the year of God one thousand five hundred and ninety-eight, came an embassador from the king of Denmark, to ELIZABETH queen of England, with certain commissions from the new king thereof; and to return the garter that her majesty had bestowed upon the king lately deceased, as the manner of all foreign princes is to do. He had audience at the court the seventh of December, in the year foresaid, with certain requests, which her majesty answered, without pains, to every point of their embassy. Lastly, having audience, by occasion, on her majesty's birthday, (as he was surely informed) he began an eloquent oration, saying, 'I doubt not but the king, my master, shall, in this happy day, have a happy answer to his requests.' Her majesty answered, saying, 'I blame you not to expect a reasonable answer: But you may think it a great miracle, how that a child born at four of the clock this morning, should be able to answer so wise and learned a man as you are, sent from so great a prince as you be, about so great and weighty affairs as you speak of, in an unknown tongue, by three of the clock in the afternoon.' And thus, with prudent and gracious words, she ended, and gave him leave to depart.

In the year of God one thousand six hundred and three, upon the twenty-fourth day of March, being Thursday, about two o'clock in the morning, deceased queen ELIZABETH of England, at her manor in Richmond in Surry, she being then aged threescore and ten years, and had reigned forty-four years, five months and odd days; whose corpse was privily conveyed to Whitehall, and there remained till the twenty-eighth of April, and was then buried at Westminster.

It is not unworthy to be remembred, that Thursday hath been a fatal day to king HENRY VIII. and all his posterity; for himself died upon Thursday the twenty-eighth of January; king EDWARD upon Thursday the sixth of July; queen MARY on Thursday the seventeenth of November; and queen

ELIZABETH upon Thursday the twenty-fourth of March.

Upon the said twenty-fourth day of March, the lords spiritual and temporal of the realm of England, assisted with these of her late majesty's privy council, assembled themselves together to take order of the publishing of the queen's departure; also her lawful successor should be declared, to the comfort of the realm.

About ten of the clock at morn in the same day, which, after the account of the church of England, is the last of the year of Christ one thousand six hundred and two, having proclaimed king **JAMES** at the court-gate, entered the city of London by Ludgate; where, finding **ROBERT LEELORD** mayor of London, aldermen and citizens, they, all together, with a multitude of other good subjects, rode to the cross of West-Cheap; and, on the west side thereof, with sounding of trumpets, caused to be proclaimed king **JAMES** of Scotland, the sixth of that name in Scotland, and of England, France and Ireland, defender of the faith, the first, as lawful heir, lineally descended from **MARGARET** eldest daughter to **HENRY VII.** and **ELIZABETH** his wife, eldest daughter to **EDWARD IV.** married to **JAMES IV.** king of Scotland, in the year of God one thousand five hundred and three, (a hundred years and more since) who had issue king **JAMES V.** father to **MARY I.** mother to **JAMES VI.** now king of this whole island, England, Scotland and Wales, with the realms of France and Ireland. Sir **ROBERT CECIL**, principal secretary, read the proclamation; **WILLIAM DETHICK**, alias Garter, principal king at arms, pronounced it with an audible voice. From thence they rode into Milk street, to the house of **JAMES PEMBERTON**, one of the sheriffs of London; where they dined. And after that, in council, this morning being Thursday, was directed in post, Sir **ROBERT CARIE**, knight, towards Scotland, to signify in Scotland what had been done in England; which he performed to the king at Edinburgh, upon
Satur-

Saturday at night following, which was the twenty-seventh of March, and the first news to the king of his sister's death.

This charge was very plausible and well-pleasing to the whole nobility, and generally to all commons both of Scotland and England; among whom the name of king was then so strange, as few could remember or had seen a king before, except they were aged persons; considering that the government of the realm had continued near the space of fifty years under the reign of two queens, which is the greatest part of a man's age.

But tidings being brought hereof in Scotland to the king, he called a council to him in taking order for settling all things in his realm of Scotland; began his voyage towards England, and did so much, that, after many days journey, and lodging in the houses of sundry noblemen, he arrived at London the seventh of May, one thousand six hundred and three; and he was lodged at the Charter-house, making many knights by the way as he came.

JAMES I. son to HENRY STUART and MARY late queen of Scotland, born in Edinburgh castle, began his reign over the realm of England, the twenty-fourth of March, the last of the year one thousand six hundred and two; aged thirty-six years and better. He had reigned king of Scotland in peace with almost all Christian princes; which peace he also brought into England. God make us thankful, and grant him in that blessed peace many years to reign over us.

Divers prisoners touching the late earl of Essex, were delivered out of the tower of London, namely, the earl of Southampton, on the tenth of April.

The twenty-seventh of the same month, proclamation was made for the apprehension of WILLIAM and PATRICK RUTHVENS, brethren of the late earl of Gowry.

The twenty-eighth of April, the corpse of queen ELIZABETH entred in the vault of her grandfather HENRY VII. in his most beautiful chapel, most triumphantly;

umphantly; where the reverend father in God ANTHONY WATSON, bishop of Chester, made a learned sermon. There were esteemed of mourners in black sixteen hundred persons.

In this mean time, on the fifth of April, king JAMES departed from Edinburgh, attended with multitudes of his nobility, earls, lords, barons and gentlemen of Scotland; and some French-men, as the French ambassador being in Scotland; besides, in his train, many gallant and well appointed gentlemen, who all attended upon him that day from Edinburgh to Dunglass, a house of the lord Hume's, where he reposed himself that night.

The sixth of April, his majesty progressed from Dunglass towards Berwick, having then attending upon him many more noblemen, knights and gentlemen, besides the lords wardens of the marches and borders of Scotland and England, with several companies to receive him. The lord governor of Berwick also, accompanied with the council of war, the constables with their coronets of horses, and divers captains and gentlemen of the land-pensioners, and others, advanced forward to meet, entertain and conduct his majesty into the town of Berwick. This seems a happy and strange day, when, peaceably, so many English warlike gentlemen went out to bring in an English and Scottish king, both included in one person, into that town, which for many hundred years, had been an enemy, or held for the one nation or the other: But the king of peace hath so ordained it to be. Those companies met him, and were graciously respected of his highness: So, falling in among the other troops, they set forward. And when his highness came within half a mile of the town, and began to take view thereof, from the castle came lik a tempest, as it were thunder. It was credibly reported, that a better pale of ordnance was never, in any soldier's memory, discharged in that place. The king being come near to the gates, the smoke of gun-powder vanished; and issued out of the town WILLIAM SELBY gentleman, porter.

porter of Berwick, with other gentlemen of account, and, humbling himself before the king, presented unto him the keys of the ports, who received them graciously; and, being entred betwixt the gates, he restored the said WILLIAM SELBY the keys again, and graced him with the honour of knight-hood for his service. This done, his majesty entered the second gate; and, being within both the walls, he was received by the captain of the ward; and so passed through a double guard of soldiers, well armed in all points. Betwixt this guard his majesty passed on to the market-cross, where the mayor and his brother received him with no small signs of joy. But the common people omitted nothing their power could attain unto, to express loyal duty and hearty affection, kneeling, shouting, and crying, God save king JAMES, till they were, in a manner, entreated to be silent. Then Mr CHRISTOPHER PARKINSON, the recorder of Berwick, a man grave and reverend, made a brave speech to his majesty, acknowledging him their sole and sovereign lord; to whom, in the town's name, he surrendered their charter; presenting his highness also, from them, with a purse of gold; which, as an offering of their love, he graciously received: And for their charter, he answered them, that it should be continued; and that he should maintain their privileges, and uphold them and their town in all equity, by reason it was the principal and first place honoured with his most gracious person. From thence his majesty past into the church, to humble himself before the Exalter of the humble, and thank him for his benefits bestowed upon him and his people. At which time preached before him the reverend father in God TOBY MATTHEW, bishop of Durham, who made a most learned sermon; whilk finished, the king departed to his palace; and then they gave him a pale of great ordnance more than before, never having king to rest within their walls for many years before.

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The next day, being the seventh of April, his majesty ascended the walls; whereupon all the cannoneers, and other officers belonging to the great ordnance, stood every one in his place; the captains with their bands of soldiers likewise under their colours. Among which warlike train, his majesty, to shew an instance how he loved and respected the art military, he made a shot himself out of the cannon, so far, and with such sign of experience, that the most expert gunners gave it just commendation. After this he left that part of the wall, and being attended upon by his nobility both of Scotland and England, the lord HENRY HOWARD, brother to the late duke of Norfolk, and the lord Cobham being newly come to the town, and guarded by the gentlemen pensioners of Berwick, he bestowed that day in surveying of the fortifications, commending the military order of the town, and so returned to his palace.

The eighth of April, the trumpets warned for the remove; and all that morning his majesty, with royal liberality, bestowed, among the garrison soldiers, and every officer of war, according to his place, rich and bountiful rewards. After dinner, his majesty mounted on horseback, and took leave of Berwick, and proceeded into England, where he was received by NICHOLAS FORESTER, high-chamberlain of Northumberland, accompanied with a number of the gentlemen of the shire; who, riding before his majesty, led the way to Withrington; where, by the master of the place, Sir ROBERT CARIE and his lady, he was received with all duty and affection, the house being plentifully furnished for his entertainment, &c.

The ninth of April, he set forward to Newcastle, being sixteen miles from Withrington; where his majesty was met by the mayor, aldermen, council, and best commoners of the same. In joyful manner the mayor presented him with the sword and keys, with humble submission, giving to his majesty also, in token of love and loyalty, a purse full
of

of gold. His grace returned to the mayor the sword and keys, ratifying all their customs and privileges that they were possessed of; and so was conducted to the mayor's house, where he was richly entertained, and remained there three days.

Sunday, being the tenth of April, his majesty went to the church, before whom preached the bishop of Durham.

Monday he bestowed in viewing the town, the manner and beauty thereof, bridge and the key, being one of the fairest in all the north parts: Besides, he released all prisoners, except for treason and papistry, giving sums of money for the relief of many that lay for debt. So joyful were the townsmen of Newcastle of his majesty being there, that they thankfully bore all the charge of his household, during the time of his abode with them.

The thirteenth day of April, his majesty set forward towards Durham; and, when he came near, the magistrates of the town met him, in behaving themselves as others before them. It was by his highness also thankfully accepted; and passing thro' the gates, when he entered the market-gate, there was an oration made to him; which being ended, he passed towards the bishop's house, where he was royally received by the bishop, attending him with a hundred gentlemen in town's livery coats, &c.

The fourteenth day, his majesty took leave of the bishop of Durham; whom he greatly graced and commended for his learned humanity and gravity, promising to restore divers things taken from the bishoprick. His majesty removed towards Walworth, sixteen miles from Durham; where, by the gentlewoman of the house, Mrs JAMIESON, he was bountifully entertained.

The fifteenth day of April, his majesty set forward to York, his train still increasing by the number of gentlemen from the south parts, that came to offer him fealty, whose love he greatly tendred; yet did their multitude so oppress the country, and made

provision so dear, that he was fain to publish an inhibition against the inordinate and daily access of people coming, that many men were stopt of their way. The high sheriff of Yorkshire, very well accompanied, attended his majesty to Mr INGLEBEE'S, beside Top-Clift, being about sixteen miles from Walworth; who, with great humility, received his majesty; where he rested that night.

The sixteenth of April, his Majesty removed towards York, being sixteen miles from Top-Clift; and when he came about some three miles from York, (the liberties of the city extending so far) Mr BUCKLE and Mr ROBERTSON, sheriffs of the city, met him, and, with humble duty, presented him with their white staves, which his grace received and delivered them again; so they attended him towards the city. Within a mile of which, when his highness approached, there met him the lord Burley, lord president of the north, with many worthy knights and gentlemen of the shire. These also attended on his person to York, where, when he came near without the city, there met him three of the serjeants, Mr WOOD, Mr DAMFORTH, and Mr WESTROPE, who delivered their maces, which his majesty delivered again, commanding them to wait on him; and, the same time, the serjeant-trumpeter, and some others, did, in like manner, submit themselves; whom, in like manner, he commanded to wait on him. Then he rode till he came to one of the gates of York, where the lord mayor of the city, the aldermen and wealthiest commoners, with abundance of other people, met him there. A long oration being made, the lord mayor delivered him the sword and keys, together with a cup of gold; which present his grace thankfully accepted, delivering the keys again to my lord mayor: But about bearing of the sword there was some argument; the lord president taking it for his place, the lord mayor esteeming it to be his. But the king demanded the sword, seeing they would not be pleased that he should have the disposition thereof; whereunto they humbly answered, it was all at
his

his pleasure. His grace delivered the sword to the earl of Cumberland, who bore it before him from the gate to the minster; in which way there was a conduit that ran white wine all day; white wine and claret, every man to drink as much as he list. From the minster his grace went on foot, under a canopy, borne by four knights, to his own house, being the manor of St. Mary's, where he was honourably received by the lord Burley; who gave cheerful entertainment to all his followers, during the time of his continuance in York, &c.

The seventeenth day of April, being Sunday, the king went on foot to the minster to hear the sermon, which was preached by Dr. THORBOROUGH, dean of York and bishop of Limerick in Ireland; whose doctrine and method of preaching was highly, by his majesty, commended. The sermon ended, the king returned on foot, in the same sort as he came, to his manor; where he was royally feasted by the lord Burley, during his continuance in that manor of St. Mary's. It is said to exceed all the rest in any part of England before; butteries, pantries and cellars, always held open, in great abundance, in all corners.

Monday, the eighteenth of April, his majesty was feasted by my lord mayor of York, whom he knighted by the name of Sir ROBERT WALTER. After dinner, his majesty commanded all prisoners to be set at liberty, except papists and wilful murderers; and rode from York to Grimsthorpe, being a house of Sir EDWARD STANHOPE's, where he lay that night, and dined the next day.

The nineteenth day of April, his grace rode to Pomfret-castle; which when he had viewed, he rode to Duncaster, where he lodged at the sign of the Bear and the Sun.

The twentieth day of April, his majesty rode toward Warsop, the earl of Shrewsbury's house; and, at Battin the high-sheriff of York-shire took his leave of the king, and Mr ASKOTH, high-sheriff of Nottingham-shire, received him; and so conducted

him till he came within a mile of Blyth; where his grace alighted, and sat down on a bank-side to eat and drink. After which short repast he rode forward to Warsope: but, in the park, he was somewhat stayed: For there appeared a number of huntsmen all in green; the chief of which in a woodman's speech, did welcome him, offering to shew him some game; which he gladly condescended to see, and with a train he hunted a good space, and went into the house; where he was so nobly and royally received, with abundance of all things, that still every entertainment seemed to exceed other.

The twenty-first day of April, his grace took his way toward Newark upon Trent, where that night he lodged in the castle; where the aldermen presented him with a fair gilt cup, which was kindly accepted. In this town, and in the court, was taken a cut-purse doing the deed; and, being a base pilfering thief, yet he was gentleman-like in the outside. This fellow had good store of coin found about him; and, upon examination, confessed that he had, from Berwick unto that place, played the cut-purse in the court. The king hearing of this gallant, directed a warrant to the recorder of Newark to have him hanged; which was accordingly execute; and all the rest of the prisoners of the castle pardoned.

The twenty-second of April, his highness rode to Beaver-castle, hunting all the way as he rode. At Beaver-castle his highness was royally received by the earl of Rutland and his countess, and plentifully entertained.

The twenty-third of April, his highness rode forward toward Burley, and, by the way, dined at Sir JOHN HARRINGTON's; where that worthy knight made him most royal entertainment. From thence he rode to Burley; where his grace, with all his train, was received with great magnificence, the house seeming so rich, as if it had been furnished at the charges of an emperor. The next day, being Easter-day, there preached before him the bishop of Lincoln;

coln; and the sermon was no sooner done, but all the offices of the house were set open, that every man might have free access to butteries, pantries, kitchens, to eat and drink at their pleasure.

The twenty-seventh of April, his highness removed toward Hinchinbroke, to Sir OLIVER CROMWEL's; and, by the way, dined at Sir ANTHONY MILDMAI's; where nothing wanted in a subject's duty to his sovereign. Dinner and banquet being past, and the king at point to depart, Sir ANTHONY presented his grace with a gallant Barbary horse, and rich saddle and furniture suitable; which his highness thankfully accepted, and rode toward Sir OLIVER CROMWEL's; and, about some half mile ere he came there, his majesty was met by the bailie of Huntington, who made to him a long oration, and there delivered him the sword; which his highness gave to the earl of Southampton to bear before him to Sir OLIVER CROMWEL's house; where his highness and his followers, with all their comers, had such entertainment, as not the like had been seen before. There was such plenty and variety of meats, and diversity of wines, and the cellars open at every man's pleasure. There attended also at Sir OLIVER CROMWEL's, the heads of the university of Cambridge, all clad in scarlet gowns and corner-caps; which having presence of his majesty, there was made an eloquent and learned oration in Latin, welcoming his majesty, and also entreating the confirmation of their privileges; which his grace most willingly granted. Mr CROMWEL presented his majesty with many rich and acceptable gifts; as, a very great and fair wrought standing cup of gold, goodly horses, deep-mouthed hounds, divers hawks of excellent wing; and, at the remove, gave fifty pounds sterling money among his majesty's officers.

The twenty-ninth day of April, after breakfast, his grace took leave of Sir OLIVER CROMWEL and of his lady, late wife to Signor Horatio Paulo Vicino. From thence he departed to Roystoun; and, as he

passed through Gudman-Chester, a town close by Huntingdon, the bailies of the town, with their brethren, met him, acknowledging their allegiance, conveying him through the town. There they presented him with threescore and ten team of horse, all traced to fair new ploughs, in shew of their husbandry; which while his majesty, being very well delighted with the sight thereof, demanded why they offered him so many horses and ploughs: He was answered that it was their antient custom, whensoever any king of England passed through their town, so to present him: Besides, they added, That they held their lands by that tenor, being the king's tenants. His majesty not only took well in worth their good minds, but bade them use well their ploughs, being glad he was landlord of so many good husbandmen in one town. In his way toward Roystoun, the high sheriff of Huntingdon-shire took his leave of his grace, who was there received by Sir EDWARD DENT high sheriff of Hertford-shire, attended on by a goodly company, in number seven score, suitably apparelled in blue livery-coats and white doublets, and hats with feathers, all mounted on horseback, with red saddles. Sir EDWARD, after his humble duty, presented his highness with a gallant horse, and rich saddle and furniture correspondent, being of great value; which his highness accepted graciously, and caused him to ride on the said horse before him. The knight mounted quickly on the said horse; and in brave manner, conducted his majesty to one Mr CHESTER's house; where his majesty lay that night, on his own kingly charges.

The thirtieth day of April, his majesty rode to Standown to Sir THOMAS SADLER's; and, by the way, the bishop of London met him, attended by a goodly company of gentlemen in tawny coats and chains of gold. At Sir THOMAS SADLER's his majesty was royally entertained for himself and his kingly train. There his grace stayed Sunday, before whom the bishop of London preached.

The

The second day of May, being Monday, his majesty removed to Broxburn, a house of Sir HENRY COKE's, cofferer to the late queen ELIZABETH, and now also cofferer to his majesty; where there met him the lord keeper of the great seal, the lord admiral, with most part of the nobility of the land, and council of estate, who were favourably received. At which time, the said lord keeper made a brief and learned speech to his majesty; to which his majesty answered with great grace and princely wisdom. But to speak of his grace's entertainment at Broxburn, it was such, and so abundant, as there was no man, of whatsoever condition, but had what appetite desired; his majesty also receiving thereby great contentment; and, continuing but one night, departed the next day, thanking the good knight for his great expences.

The third day of May, he came to Theobalds, a house belonging to Sir ROBERT CECIL. At this house there met his majesty all, for the most part, of the old servants and officers in household of the late queen; and with them the guard of his majesty's body; all of them being courteously received to their own content. Also, in his house of Theobalds, the fourth day of May, his majesty, with divers noblemen of Scotland, of his honourable council, viz. the duke of Lenox, the earl of Mar, the lord Hume, Sir GEORGE HUME treasurer of Scotland, Sir JAMES ELPHINSTON secretary to the king, the lord of Kinlochs, now master of the Rolls; also the English nobility, made of his council, the lord HENRY HOWARD, brother to JAMES HOWARD late duke of Norfolk, THOMAS lord Howard son to the duke, who was also made there lord chamberlain, and the lord Montjoy, not then returned out of Ireland. His grace stayed at Theobalds four days, with entertainment, such, and so costly, as hardly can be expressed, considering the multitude that hither resorted, beside the train, none going thence unsatisfied. The king made knights there, as is said, twenty-eight.

The seventh day of May, being Saturday, he removed from Theobalds toward London, riding through the meadows; where, within two miles on this side Waltham, one of the sheriffs of London, called JOHN SOMERTON, and also sheriff of Middlesex, met his majesty with sixty men in livery-coats; where an eloquent and learned oration was made to his highness by RICHARD MARTIN gentleman of the Middle Temple. Besides these men in livery-coats that attended the sheriffs, all mounted on gallant horses, most of the sheriffs officers attended upon him; who conducted the king within some two miles of London; and, at Stainfor-hill, the lord mayor of London presented himself, with whom were the aldermen in gowns of scarlet, and chains of gold about their necks, with all chief officers and council of the city; besides five hundred citizens all very well mounted, clad in velvet-coats, and chains of gold, with the chief gentlemen of the hundreds, who made a good show to entertain their sovereign. There also met his majesty all the officers of estate, as, serjeants at arms, with their rich maces, the heralds in their coats of arms, and trumpeters, every one in his due place. The duke of Lenox bearing the sword of honour before his majesty, passed over the fields, and came in at the backside of the charter-house, where he was most royally received and entertained by the lord THOMAS HOWARD. He lay there four nights, and, at his departure, made about eighty knights.

The eleventh of May, his grace rode in coach somewhat closely from the charter-house to Whitehall; and from thence was convoyed by water to the tower of London, and there were attending on him the lord Zeuth and the lord Burley, (sworn the said day privy counsellors to his majesty at the charter-house) the lord admiral, the earl of Northumberland, the lord Worcester, the lord Howard and others. The first day his majesty viewed the offices in the tower, as, the armory, the wardrobe, the artillery, &c. The next day he saw the ordnance-house, the mint-house, and, at the last, the Lyons, &c.

The

The twentieth of May, being Friday, his grace made barons and knights, in the tower, to the number of twelve, or thereby.

The seventeenth day of May forefaid, proclamation was made againſt rovers in the borders.

The twenty-second day of May, his grace knighted Sir ROBERT LEELORD mayor of London, and others. His majeſty was, that day, moſt royally ſerved; and, at night, divers fire-works on the Thames were ſhewed for triumph.

In the month of June, there came embaffadors from the Palſgrave of Rhine, from the eſtates of Holland and Zealand, from the archduke of Auktria, and from the French king.

The ſecond day of July thereafter, the feaſt of St. George was royally kept at Windſor by the king and knights of the honourable order of the garter; where the prince, the duke of Lenox, the earl of Southampton, the earl of Mar, and the earl of Pembroke, were inſtalled.

The twenty-fiſt of July were created at Hampton court, in the great hall, by the king's majeſty, under his eſtate, and the queen preſent, to the number of thirteen or fourteen earls and barons.

Friday, the twenty-second of July, the king and queen removed to Weſtmiſter.

Saturday, the twenty-third, the king dubbed knights in his garden, the judges, ſerjeants at law, and many other, three or four hundred.

Sunday, the twenty-fourth of July, were performed the ſolemnity of the knights of the Bath, riding honourably from St James's to the court, and made ſhow with their ſquires and pages about the tilt-yard; and after went to the park of St James's, and their alighted all from their horſes, and went up to the king's majeſty's preſence in the gallery, where they received the order of the knighthood of the Bath.

The twenty-fiſth of July, being Monday, and the feaſt of the bleſſed Apoſtle St. James, king James
of

of England, the first of that name, with the noble lady queen ANNE, were together crowned and appointed at Westminster, by the reverend father in God JOHN WHITGIFT archbishop of Canterbury, in presence of the nobility, and namely Sir ROBERT LEE LORD lord mayor of London, in a gown of crimson-velvet, his brethren, the aldermen, in gowns of scarlet, and twelve principal citizens admitted to attend on them. These, in the morning early, entered in the mayor's barge at the Three Cranes Stairs, and were rowed to Westminster. All other citizens stayed from passing thither, either by water or by land, as much as might be.

Friday, being the fifth of August, by commandment from the ordinary, was kept holy-day, with prayers, sermons, and bonfires, and all that night all men to praise God for the king's escape from being murdered by a most wicked traitor, the earl of Gowry.

The fourteenth of August, Sir WILLIAM DETHICK garter, principal king at arms, was sent to Peterborough in Northampton-shire, with a rich pale of velvet, embroidered with the arms of the mighty princess MARY queen of Scotland, having letters directed to the reverend lord the bishop of Peterborough in that behalf; which pale of velvet embroidered was, by him, solemnly carried and laid upon and over the corps of the said late queen, assisted by many knights and gentlemen, and much people, at the time of divine service; and then the said bishop preached a sermon in that behalf in the morning, and made a great feast at dinner, and the dean of the same preached in the afternoon. The said queen of Scotland was royally and sumptuously interred by the said Garter, on the first day of August, one thousand five hundred and eighty-seven.

Upon the sixth of November thereafter, the high and mighty prince FREDERICK duke of Wortenberg, who had been elected before to be one of the
com.

company of the most noble order of the garter, in the twenty-fifth year of the reign of queen ELIZABETH (which was the day appointed for that action) the said duke was invested; the robes, garter, and other ornaments of the said order, and other ceremonies were performed in the cathedral church of that city; and all the rest of that day was spent with great feast and triumph, very admirable to beholders, &c.

The fifteenth day thereafter, king JAMES, queen ANNE his wife, and HENRY FREDERICK the prince, past triumphantly from the tower of London, thro' his royal city and chamber of London, to Westminster. The companies of the city, marshalled according to their degrees, were placed; the first beginning at the upper end of Mark-lane, and the last reaching to the conduit of Fleet-street, or thereabouts, their seats being double railed; upon the upper part whereof they leaned the streamers, ensigns and banners of each particular company, decently fixed; and directly against them, quite thro' the body of the city, so high as Temple-bar, a single rail, a far distance from the other, was likewise erected to put off the multitude. The king, richly mounted on a white gennet, under a rich canopy, sustained by eight gentlemen of the privy chamber, for the barons of the Cinque-Ports, entered his royal city of London, and passed the same towards Westminster, through seven gates of pageants: Of the which, the first was erected at the east end of Fen-church; over the which gate was represented the true likeness of the notable houses, towers and steeples within the city of London. The second gate, a most sumptuous piece of workmanship, was loftily raised in Grace-street by the Italians. The third gate, upon Cornhill, by the Exchange, representing the seventeen provinces of Belgia, or the Dutch nation; and, by them, raised close to St. Mildrad's church. In the Poultry a scaffold was erected; where, at the city's cost, to
delight

delight the queen with her own country music, nine trumpets, and a kettle-drum did actually sound the Danish march, &c. The fourth gate, wherethro' his grace past at charges of the citizens, was raised at West-Cheap at Super-lane end, adjoining to the east front of the great cross. In the Cheap was erected a square low gallery, some four foot from the ground, set round about with pilley-stairs, where stood the aldermen, the chamberlain, town-clerk, and council of the city, and Sir HENRY MONTAGUE recorder of the city, who made to his majesty a gratulatory oration, as followeth.

' High imperial majesty, it is not a year in days, since, with acclamations of the people, citizens and nobles, auspiciously here, at this cross, was proclaimed your true succession to the crown. If then it was joyous, with hands and hearts lift up to heaven, to cry king JAMES; what is it now to see king JAMES? Come, therefore, O worthiest of kings, as a glorious bridegroom, through your royal chamber. But, to come nearer, *adeſt quem querimus*. Twenty and more are the sovereigns we have served since our conquest; but, conqueror of hearts, it is you and your posterity, that we have vowed to live, and wish to serve whilst London is a city. In pledge whereof, my lord mayor, the aldermen and commons of the city, wishing a golden reign to you, presents your grace with a little cup of gold, &c.'

At the end of the oration, three cups of gold were given (in name of the lord mayor, and the haill body of the city) to his grace, the young prince, and the queen. From thence his majesty past to the little conduit at St. Paul's gate, where was placed the fifth gate or pageant, arbour-like, and so called The Arbour of Music. From thence he passed through Paul's church-yard; upon the lower battlements of which church, an anthem was sung by the choiristers of the church, to the music of loud instruments; which being finished, a little oration

tion was delivered by one of Mr MALCASTER's scholars at the door of the free-school, founded by Dr COLLET, sometime dean of Paul's church. The sixth arch or gate of triumph was erected above the conduit in Fleet-street, whereon the globe of the world was seen to move. At Temple-bar, when his grace was upon the point of giving a gracious princely farewell to the lord mayor and the city, a seventh gate or arch was erected; the fore-front whereof was proportioned in every respect like a temple, being dedicate to JAMES. Lastly, the city of Westminster and dutchy of Lancaster at The Strand had invented the invention of a rain-bow; the sun, moon and stars, advanced betwixt two pyramids; which piece of work was begun and ended in twelve days. Of all which pageants and devices, speeches and songs declared in them, ye may read at large, in a book intituled, 'The Magnificent Entertainment given to king JAMES, upon the day of his triumphant passage from the tower, through his honourable city of London, the fifteenth of March 1603-4, by THOMAS DECKER.'

The nineteenth of August, in the afternoon, about five of the clock, a joyful peace was proclaimed at the cross in West-Cheap, to the honour of God, and tranquillity of these our united kingdoms, with the high and mighty prince PHILIP, the third of that name, king of Spain, and ALBERT and ISABEL archdukes of Austria, and dukes of Burgundy. WILLIAM SEGAR, alias Garter King at Arms, read the proclamation, being present, eight or ten heralds, in their coats of arms; serjeant-trumpeter, and other eight trumpeters sounding; and Sir WILLIAM RHENNIE, one of the sheriffs of London, in scarlet, all on horseback, dated at Whitehall the day and year aforesaid.

The twenty-third day of October, king JAMES was, in most solemn manner, at the great cross in West-Cheap, proclaimed king of Great Britain, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c.
Sir

Sir THOMAS BENNET, lord mayor of London, his brethren the aldermen, in scarlet, with heralds and trumpeters, all on horseback, being present.

The fourth of January, afternoon, CHARLES duke of Albany, a child of some four years old, second son to king JAMES, now prince of Great Britain, was created duke of York, in the hall where the king sat most royally under the cloth of State; at the while time, the heralds going before, the knights of the Bath followed; after them, the lord chamberlain, earl of Suffolk, in his robes of estate, going alone; then HENRY HOWARD, earl of Northampton, and CHARLES BLUNT earl of Devonshire, carrying the robes of estate for the duke of York; after, the earl of Southampton carried the coronet; the earl of Cumberland the golden rod; the earl of Worcester the cap of estate; and the earl of Nottingham bore the duke of Albany in his arms, supported by the earl of Dorset, lord treasurer, and the earl of Northumberland; who, all coming in this order before the king, the duke of Albany was, after the patent read, created duke of York, the robes and coronet put on him, the golden rod delivered into his hand; all which performed, they went to dinner, the duke of York and the earl sitting at one table in the upper end of the great chamber, in the robes of estate; the knights of the Bath, by themselves at another table on the side of that chamber.

The right honourable, ROGER earl of Rutland, appointed by the king's majesty to be ambassador to his loving brother CHRISTIAN IV. king of Denmark, as well to solemnize, in his behalf, the christning of the king's son, as also to present his highness with the most noble order of the garter, took his leave of the court at Greenwich, on Sunday the twenty sixth of June one thousand six hundred and three years, and on Monday embarked himself at Gravesend, in his majesty's ship, called the Golden Lyon, being worthily accompanied with nine knights,
twenty

twenty squires, his friends and allies, besides about one hundred gentlemen and yeomen, his servants and followers. On Tuesday the twenty-eighth, his lordship sailed at Gravesend. On Wednesday, at night, we lost sight of land; and the wind and weather being favourable, on Tuesday seven-night following, we arrived, and safely anchored within the sound of Denmark. Upon Thursday his lordship landed at Elsinore, and was visited and saluted from the king. On Friday he rested himself; and on Saturday took journey to Copenhagen, where the king then was, with seven-score waggons prepared for his transportation; his majesty also having sent two very fine coaches, and some gentlemen, his servants, to attend on him by the way. His lordship was met by Ramellious, and some other of the king's council, who, by an oration made in Latin, saluted his lordship with most kindly welcome, signifying that it was the king's pleasure, that himself and all his train should be free of all charge during their abode in his country; and to that end had so ordained, that in all the towns and villages where we passed, wine and beer, and all other victuals were plentifully and freely offered unto all men. This oration was answered by Mr NANTROUX, a learned gentleman, that attended my lord for that purpose. That evening we came to Copenhagen. The ambassador and his brethren were lodged in the court; and the knights and gentlemen in the town. That night the earl was visited in his lodging by some of the king's council, and some compliments passed betwixt the king and the ambassador, by messages only. Sunday, in the morning, being the tenth of July, his lordship was appointed to have audience of the king; and thereupon, about the hour of nine, his lordship set forth of his lodging, with all his attendants, in very good order, and richly beseen. His gentlemen of the better sort had a livery of scarlet; and with five or six silver laces about; and the meaner sort with

as many guards of white sattin. The king's majesty stood in an half pace, in a great chamber, at the side of a square table, placed under a cloath of estate of crimson velvet. He was apparelled in black, for he then mourned for his brother, who died at Russia. At my lord's approach he uncovered his head, and descending the half pace, embraced my lord with much kindness. Then began Mr NANTOUN, my lord's orator, his oration in Latin, which he performed with great eloquence; and in handling the parts of his oration, he first presented the king of Britain's letters of credence, and deputation for the baptizing of the child; and then the commission for the order of the garter. All which the king of Denmark received and read, and, by some few instructions given by his majesty to Ramellious his counsellor, Ramellious answered the oration pointedly, with great learning and readiness. After the which, the king discoursed a while in the Italian tongue with the embassador, taking knowledge of the knights and gentlemen, who kissed his highness's hand, and also proceeded to the church to the christning of the young prince, in manner following.

The streets of Copenhagen, through which his royal highness should pass, were set with certain ensigns and burghers, both of shot and pick. The king's trumpeters rode foremost, sounding; then followed the kettle drums; then the king's household servants on foot; after whom followed fifty gentlemen, all mounted on great horses, apparelled in black, who mourned as the king did: then came the lord embassador's attendants, followers and servants, accompanied with divers Danes on foot; the bishop of Bream, with the deputies of Saxon Brunswick and Brandenburg, accompanied each other; the king, the lord embassador, and duke Ulrick the king's brother, rode all three together; the queen mother followed, invested in white sattin above, in a chariot of crimson velvet embroidered, and richly gilt,

gilt, bearing the young prince in her arms; the chariot was drawn with six white horses, sumptuously harnessed and plumed; and a guard of Switzers suited in red and yellow silk, bearing light torches thereabouts; after followed a spare chariot of purple, richly embroidered; and after it, divers coaches of the queen's women, apparelled into white, like unto nuns. Thus, with great triumph and rejoicing of the people, who were there in great numbers, they entred our lady church of that town, where the baptizing was to be performed. The chancel was hung with crimson velvet and sattin figured, and round about beautified with the most fair ladies, in great abundance, all rich in jewels, and head attires in pearl, close dressed; but their garments were black and plain: And truly, in my judgment, both for habit and behaviour, they seemed to be the most modest women in the world. In the chancel were erected two trevises, the one for the queen mother and the prince, the other for the king and the embassador. After divers anthems and hymns sung, and consoorted with eloquent musie, in great variety, a^d bishop, assisted with a deacon, in rich vestments, standing before the altar, began to read certain prayers both in Latin and Danish tongues; which performed, the bishop came to the font, and the queen mother, being led by the embassador and the duke Ulrick, brought the child in her arms to the same; and there she delivered the child to be held by the lord embassador, while she herself slipt back the head attire for the baptism; which the bishop, after certain prayers performed, by putting water on the infant's head, with the sign of the cross, saying, Neame de Barne, which was CHRISTIAN, done, by the lord embassador and other deputies, at the request of the king his father. All which accomplished, the queen mother, with the prince, retired unto her trevis. The bishop began a sermon in Latin upon the gospel for that day; which ended, the trumpets sounded, and they royally retired as they came.

That

That day the king made a solemn feast to the ambassador and the other deputies, placing the king of England's ambassador at the table-end, at the right-hand of the queen-mother; himself sat on the right side of the table-end, and his queen on the left. The duke his brother, the bishop of Breame, and other estates, were placed according to their degrees; and so were the English knights and gentlemen, as many as the boards might contain. To be brief, it were superfluous to tell you of all the superfluities that were used. It would make a man sick to hear of their drinking healths. Use hath brought it into fashion, and fashion hath made it a habit, which it ill becoms our nation to imitate.

Monday, being the eleventh day of July, the lord ambassador was entertained with the sight of the king's stable of horse, and with the arsenal or store-house of the king's munitions; which truly, when it shall be performed, will be one of the most excellent provisions in Christendom. There was but one side of it built, the other lay in the foundations. The fabrication is of three lofts; the nethermost is artillery upon carriage, so neat and clean kept, that the brass is as bright as gold, and the iron as black as jet. The bullets are built in piles, according to their bore; and all provision so ready and necessary, as it were not exprest with words what it is in form. So is the middle store-house of armour, picks, shots, ensigns, drums, and all martial instruments: Also the uppermost loft, with powder, cordage, and other necessities, plentifully stored.

Tuesday, the twelfth day, was spent in seeing the king of Denmark's ships, and other compliments.

Wednesday the thirteenth day, my lord ambassador and his attendants kissed the queen's hands and young prince, then took their leave, and returned from Copenhagen to Elsinore; and, by the way, the king and ambassador hunted.

Thursday, the fourteenth day, the king received the order of the garter within the castle of Elsinore; which

which service was performed by WILLIAM SEGAR Norrey king at arms ; unto whom the king gave a rich suit of apparel, and a chain of gold with his mediagle hanging thereat. At the investing of the king the castle discharged fifty cannons, and the king of England's ships, lying before the castle, reported as many. Then, afternoon the king went aboard in the English ships, and had a banquet prepared for him upon the upper-decks, which were hung with a covering of cloth of Tissue. Every health reported six, eight, or ten shot of great ordnance : So that, during the king's abode, the ship discharged a hundred and fifty shot.

The castle of Elsinore is a quadrant, and one of the goodliest fortifications in that part of the world, both for strength and most curious architecture, and was built by FREDERICK the king's father. There are in the same many princely lodgings, and especially one great chamber. It is hanged with Irish tapestry of fresh coloured silk, without gold, wherein all the Danish kings are expressed in antique habits, according to their several times, with their arms and inscriptions, containing all their conquests and victories. The roof is of inlet woods, and hung full of branches of brass for lights.

Friday, the fifteenth day, the king hunted ; and by the way, shewed my lord embassador certain water-mills (of his own device) for the forging, hammering, and boring of the ordnance, both great and small. In the which work, a dozen men did, with great ease, the offices of three or fourscore. The chase continued about two hours ; the deer, being brought within toyles, were killed with musket-shot, to the number of eight or nine score, the most part stags. After the which, the king feasted my lord embassador in a lodge, very royally.

Saturday the sixteenth day, in the morning, six or eight of the king's council repaired unto my lord embassador's lodging in the castle ; and there, in presence of his lords and his attendants, made a solemn protestation

protection of the king's high acceptance of those favours and honours, which his loving brother the king of England had done unto him, promising all princely requittal if it lay in his power, yielding always great thanks to the ambassador for his long and painful journey to do him honour; and therewith presented him with a fair chain, and a rich jewel set with diamonds, and his picture also hanging thereat: Also sixteen other chains were given to the knights, and some of the gentlemen, my lord's followers; and about ten of his mediegles of gold unto others.

The presents which the king of England sent to the king of Denmark were, a collar of the order, two very rich Georges set with diamonds, and two garters; and to the queen-mother, rich carcanets, and other jewels, estimate worth three or four thousand pounds sterling.

That day, Ramellious invited both the king and ambassador to dine with him, at his own house, near the castle; and, in his dining-chamber, had erected a cloth of estate of crimson-sattin, figured with two chairs and cushions of the same; and, upon the cloth of estate, were set the arms and files of both the kings, which before was not used, because the king received the order in his chamber, and not in his chapel. The cheer was great, and my lord ambassador, being weary with these bachanal entertainments, took his leave of the king's grace, intending, that night, to lie aboard, for his more speedy dispatch homeward. The king, by no persuasion, could alter his determination; and therefore, after many embracements on either part, with kissing the king's hands, his lordship departed, and was accompanied unto the shore by his majesty; where the pinnace and the long boat lay ready to convoy him aboard.

Sunday and Monday we were becalmed in the Sound; and on Tuesday the nineteenth of July, we set sail for England. Our ship, saluting the castle, was resaluted by the same; and the king, standing upon a counterescarp that lay into the sea, gave fire
unto

unto a cannon with his own hand, for our last farewell: And truly I must say thus much of him, that, for his royal person and princely carriage, I hold him to be the goodliest king in Christendom.

Saturday, the thirtieth of July, after we had been thirteen days at sail, carried by contrary winds, we arrived at Scarborough-road in Yorkshire.

The eighth of August following, the Lord ambassador came, with his attendants, followers and servants, to Hampton-court, where his Lordship, and the rest, kissed the king's hand. Whom all I leave, for this present, to next occasion, and the rest of all matters my author continues to speak further of, and rest.

F I N I S.

